

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1972

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COLUMBIA
JOURNALISM
REVIEW

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BARONIES**

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**—'Columbia Journalism Review,'
Fall, 1961.**

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COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

November/December, 1972

cover: Bob Cato

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Passing comment

Before we forget Eagleton

Although Jack Anderson deservedly took the hardest raps for his role in the downfall of Sen. Eagleton, there have been widespread second thoughts about the general role played by the media—particularly by those media that would have been considered most sympathetic to the Democratic ticket. One questioner was the weekly *New Era*, of Deep River, Conn., which declared itself revolted at the pressure exerted by the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and Anderson to oust Eagleton—"not only because of the effect upon what they obviously considered to be one expendable individual, and his family, but because of the effect upon the nation as a whole . . . we all succeeded in staining our own hands with some of his blood." The TV columnist of the *New Republic*, who signs himself "Sedulus," said that the media performance "seemed to me like a mob scene out of Shakespeare." He goes on:

I do think it is important here to separate the Eagleton case itself from those who moved in to settle the case, and to ask by what particular dispensation from God or Jefferson or even the Democratic Party they did so. For it does seem that in this case we have a stunning contemporary instance of how the press has come inadvertently to display all the tyrannous powers that our country has traditionally feared to be vested in the hands of government. The journalists have set *themselves* up as the appropriate makers and unmakers of a presidential candidate. . . .

Charles Bartlett, in a *Chicago Sun-Times* column reprinted in the September *Quill*, saw the case as "a taste . . . of the media's capacity for inhumanity to man." In the assumption by the large media that Eagleton's illness would not be understood by the masses, the weekly *Manhattan Tribune* found condescension, a "general belief

that much of America is slightly stupid, uninformed, and motivated by hidden fears."

So goes the litany of these uneasy second thoughts. They reduce themselves to two points:

1) That the media treated Sen. Eagleton cruelly.

2) That the media usurped the role of other institutions in creating pressure to force Eagleton off the ticket.

The first contention is almost undeniable. The heat of individual and organizational competitiveness has repeatedly turned the media into a mob; journalists who otherwise appear decent souls lose their civility in the setting of a pursuit. How else to account for such a lapse as that by the usually restrained George Herman of CBS, who asked the Senator on the air why he was sweating. George Romney and Edmund Muskie know, too, this quality of mercilessness at the sight of a wounded candidate. In other circumstances, this instinct has uses in breaking down barriers to information; it is less attractive when it is used to abort a career.

What of the other charge, of usurpation? This is much less clear; in fact, Theodore Lippman, Jr., charged in the September (*More*) that too few major newspapers reached a recognizable position on the Eagleton question. Yet the charge should not be construed to embrace only the editorial-page demands—notably in the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times*—that Eagleton be dropped. It can be argued that the flow of speculative correspondence by political reporters was more important—the assumption, adopted early by many, that Eagleton would have to go and the framing of subsequent stories around that assumption. Possibly this is not usurpation, but it is at least tampering.

Whatever its impact, it is now, of course, an episode from the past. But the uneasiness that lingers is for good cause.

Unilateral cease-fire

Question: Who said: "There is a place for the press and government to coexist with respect to each other and yet to maintain that vital and

delicate adversary relationship that is so vital to the maintenance and preservation of a free society.”?

Thomas Jefferson? Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.? William O. Douglas? *Editor & Publisher?* No, it was that veteran media analyst himself, the Vice President; what's more, he said it even before his emergence in a more restrained image at the Republican National Convention. Administration-watchers took the Vice President's respectful statements about the press to be the proclamation of a truce, an announcement that the Administration would, after all, run against the Democrats instead of the media. This view was confirmed when the President's press secretary said blandly, "We have never had a plan to make the press an issue in the campaign."

Which makes one wonder what all the cacophony was about—the complaints about Eastern liberal bias, the veiled threats of official action, the chilly remoteness of sources. One hint came in the President's "political" news conference of Aug. 29, which the *New Republic's* Nixon-watcher, John Osborne, witnessed with awe; for, given a chance at last to question the President about the Watergate affair and the handling of campaign funds, the reporters dealt with him as if he were the Sun King, not a political candidate. Nor was this lapse altogether the fault of the correspondents; they may simply have been victims of the belated recognition by the White House that it is more profitable to treat reporters as so much malleable clay, rather than hard-rock opponents. Is the era of antagonism now going to be replaced by an epoch of manipulation?

Useful experiment

Although it failed to attract a large audience, public television deserves commendation for its experiment in coverage of the Republican National Convention. PBS provided a complete transmission of the proceedings, accompanied by periodic voice-over narration and interrupted by commentary only at pauses in the official business. Newsmen criticized this procedure as being non-

journalism, which was true enough in the sense that journalists did not select or process the raw materials. Rather, the coverage was an alternate service of a type that has been long discussed and not tested. And it found some support; John J. O'Connor, TV critic of the *New York Times*, wrote that the PBS presentation was "surprisingly more effective than the far more elaborate, and strained, productions being mounted by both commercial and public television."

By satellite from Munich

When it bought American rights to the summer Olympics, the American Broadcasting Company drew a much tougher assignment than it had bargained for. Not only did it have to turn from covering sports to covering deadly violence, but the network had to deal with developments in the games that were less pleasant than the usual run of victory and defeat.

Technically, the coverage reached new highs in clarity and ingenuity; as sports journalism, it deserved only mixed marks. The coverage of events still seemed to be governed somewhat by the belief that Americans wanted most to see American



—New York News, Sept. 6.

athletes, even when what they did was less than outstanding. Too often, the commentators appeared to conduct themselves as accredited ambassadors of the American public—most notably when Howard Cosell scolded the American track coach who had failed to get his sprinters to the mark on time. Moreover, a few commentators suffered from radioitis, the conviction that TV pictures need a supplement of constant gabble.

When terrorists attacked the Israeli quarters, however, ABC's men in Munich, with the able help of Peter Jennings, worked with persistence and imagination. Their performance was marred

only by an unseemly squabble in New York over use of the transatlantic satellite, and by the false report that the Israeli hostages had been saved. As at Attica a year before, newsmen were temporarily victimized and the world-wide public cruelly deceived. Also as at Attica, in the confusion of premature or conflicting reports, attribution of statements was imperative—but, unfortunately, not always scrupulously practiced.

Short rations

The scenario for public television that was inherent in the veto of the congressional PTV-funding bill [PASSING COMMENT, Sept./Oct.] has progressed without surprises. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting is receiving minimal funding, at the level originally desired by the White House—and for one year only. The president of CPB, John W. Macy, Jr., resigned, his battle lost; and Frank Pace, Jr., stepped down as chairman of the CPB board. Into the vacancies moved Henry W. Loomis, deputy director of the U. S. Information Agency, and Thomas B. Curtis, a former Republican Congressman from Missouri. Whatever the merits of these men as individuals, they help bring PTV more firmly under the thumb of the Administration. *Broadcasting* magazine argues: "Any public system is fair game for any administration in power," and implies, curiously, that the fault for such a condition lies, not with the Administration, but with "zealots" who tried to build up PTV. If the Administration also subscribes to this argument that PTV must be reduced to political invisibility—and some White House statements indicate as much—then there are bleak days ahead indeed on public channels.

Abstention

Newsday, of Long Island, announced at the start of the fall campaign that it would endorse no presidential candidate this year—a comedown

from 1960, when in effect it endorsed two, one for the editor, one for her publisher-husband. The weakest argument *Newsday* offered for its policy was that it had reflected on the outcry about the Newspaper Guild endorsement of McGovern and decided that a publisher probably did not have such a right, either.

Which makes sense, if a newspaper has been endorsing candidates purely on the basis of its owners' personal preferences. But a good newspaper, or broadcast editorial department, presumably ought to be able to make better-informed choices, in the public interest, than could either a union or a publisher, both of which are likely to be geared to a particular economic self-interest. Perhaps *Newsday* is admitting tacitly that such is not the case, and that presidential endorsements still remain the special prerogative of owners.

The big loss to readers will come in *Newsday's* parallel decision not to endorse local candidates, for there is a danger that such candidates will remain not only unendorsed but unknown. The paper has set itself the rather difficult task of discussing issues and candidates' positions without formal support. Thus there will be a danger of slippage—that unexciting races, for judgeships, for example, will be overlooked. It will be interesting to observe *Newsday's* solutions to these problems after the campaign.

Retreat from Newark

Another metropolitan newspaper died in the summer's dog days, the third in less than four months [see page 49]. By the time the *Newark Evening News* closed Aug. 31, everything the obituary notices could say had become predictable, from the smug verdict of the *New York Times* (which, by coincidence, announced its New Jersey edition the next day) that the *News* had been a victim of a "ruthless cost squeeze" and of a "senseless ten-month strike" to the statement issued by the Newspaper Guild that ignored both the strike and the role of its national leadership in prolonging it. The issues of human and professional dignity that were so much a part of the

conflict in Newark were scarcely mentioned.

The *Review* has touched twice before [PASSING COMMENT, Nov./Dec., 1971; Jan./Feb., 1972] on the desperate situation that led *News* editorial employees to join the Guild and to go on strike, and on the half-year delay in resumption of publication that followed their virtual surrender. Now those who waited out the strike and returned to the much-depleted paper that emerged have their reward. The owner which acquired the *News* in 1970—Media General, Inc.—may not have to answer legally for what it has done to the journalism and journalists of Newark. But its officials certainly cannot be abandoning the city with consciences clear.

Critics without portfolios

Four years ago this fall, metropolitan news media began to suffer bites from a new species of gadfly—the critic who also happened to be an employee. Many of the stings appeared in the journalism reviews produced by staff members, starting with the *Chicago Journalism Review*; but the spirit of the reviews was visible beyond their pages in an unprecedented willingness of working journalists to write freely about news problems—and, sometimes, personal grudges—in a wide range of publications, from the underground press to the intellectual weeklies [see page 25].

Now we are seeing signs that the stings have been painful, that news organizations are showing the most spontaneous reaction to pain: they are swatting the gadflies. The list of the swatted has been lengthening: Last year the *Review* described the cases of Joe Eszterhas, dismissed by the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* after writing an article in *Evergreen Review*; and of John de Groot, who criticized the *Miami Herald* under a pen name in a local church publication. The following have been added:

1) Michael H. Bowler, education editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, after reading about the “newsroom revolution” in this magazine, called on his associates in September, 1970, to found an At-

lanta journalism review; his manifesto included a charge that the paper “wouldn’t touch Rich’s [a local department store] with a million-pica pole.” The newspaper discharged Bowler two weeks later, and his case went to arbitration between the employer and the employees’ association. Before the case was concluded, Bowler wrote an article for the pilot *Atlanta Journalism Review*, whose sole issue appeared as a supplement to *Columbia Journalism Review* of July/August, 1971. In July, 1972, the arbitrator, Hugo L. Black, Jr., combined a decision ordering that Bowler be given back pay with a heartfelt defense of the Atlanta newspapers. Black asserted the following points:

a) That Bowler had a right to circulate the memorandum that got him fired, and was therefore entitled to back pay and reinstatement.

b) That “if Bowler had been discharged for writing and publishing to outsiders the material of his included in the *Atlanta Journalism Review* subsequent to his discharge, I would have sustained the discharge summarily,” for Bowler might not “reasonably expect the object of his opprobrium to supply him the status necessary to give his opprobrium credibility.”

The *Constitution* took its cue from the arbitrator and, on July 28, advised Bowler that he would get the back pay to which he was entitled and that he should report for work on Sept. 1, whereupon he then would be discharged for his writings in the *Atlanta Journalism Review* in *CJR*. Case closed; Bowler now works for the *Baltimore Sun*.

2) The case of David Deitch has similarities without being an exact parallel. Deitch, whose activities at the *Boston Globe* were described in PASSING COMMENT [July/August], was fired on Aug. 10. The immediate reason cited by management was neither the radical content of Deitch’s columns nor his efforts to organize new relationships between community groups and newsmen. By writing an article (not dealing with the *Globe*, but with newsmen’s political problems) in *The Real Paper*, a new alternate-media publication in Boston, Deitch was held to have violated a portion of the *Globe*-employees contract forbidding work in a competing medium without written permission.

Deitch’s ad hoc defense committee charged that

the action was "an attack on Deitch's politics, and an admission of the *Globe's* inability to face up to the harsh facts and analysis Deitch put forward in its pages"; the committee also charged that Deitch is the only staff member to have been discharged for unauthorized free-lancing. The *Globe*, more taciturn, conceded that there had been no previous discharges under the clause, although permission for such free-lancing had been denied some staff members; the management also appears to suggest that it was far from reluctant to find a cause for discharging Deitch. At this writing, the case was headed for an arbitration hearing. In the meantime, the defense committee had picketed the *Globe* and was starting a reader boycott of the paper. The newspaper printed two letters supporting Deitch and noted that it had received nearly five dozen, with only three supporting it.

3) In Philadelphia, there has been what appears to be prolonged guerrilla warfare between the *Inquirer* and the two-year-old *Philadelphia Journalism Review*. The *Inquirer* has been more deeply involved than the *Bulletin* because *Bulletin* staff members have considered it prudent to avoid *PJR*. The hostilities were touched off by Donald Drake, a science writer who filed a story featuring violence at a science convention and then wrote, for *PJR*, "I was a whore for the press." Drake lost his beat, and his associate, Patricia McBroom, was discharged for tardiness shortly after she wrote for *PJR* on the A. J. Liebling Counter-Convention in New York. The eight *Inquirer* staff members who were founders of *PJR* claim that seven have been fired, reassigned, or harassed into leaving. Now the editor most acutely involved, John McMullan, has himself been transferred to another Knight newspaper, and Gene Roberts of the New York *Times* has become executive editor. A fresh start now may be possible, but it will take maximum effort to mend the personal and institutional damage of this past year.

4) The *Oregon Times*, an independent monthly in Portland, has been running a supplementary journalism review with the help of journalists from the Portland *Oregonian*, one of the two New-house dailies in that city. Now further participation has been forbidden, on the same grounds as Deitch's discharge—that staff members must not

write for a competing medium. The *Oregon Times* is sadly amused by its new role as competition, for it appears only eleven times a year and has a circulation less than 10 per cent that of the *Oregonian*. Without the local newsmen, it believes it cannot continue the journalism review, and the September issue announced its termination.

Increasingly, it appears, newspapers are finding that they hold considerable power over employees who have turned a hand to criticism. On their side they have raised the sometimes simpleminded cry of "loyalty," as if their pay bought not only competent performance on the job but the journalists themselves. Moreover, the "protective" restrictions placed on employees' outside activities can be used to limit the journalists' freedom to speak out on issues that concern them. Underlying the specific dilemmas is a general lack of understanding that employees of the mass media, like their fellow citizens, enjoy certain civil liberties. On most newspapers, until recent years, the limits upon personal expression have usually been defined by the employer as a condition of offering the job. Now there is a dawning notion that there are inherent First Amendment rights, as well as economic rights, that may not be infringed. These rights urgently need further definition, before bitterness and repression begin to destroy a movement that started, after all, largely out of deep concern for the future of the news media.

Critics in the house

That vogue word, *ombudsman*, has been spreading through newspaper offices. One pioneer, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, has kept its *ombudsman* near the term's original meaning—that is, an investigator of public grievances against the institution. But at the Washington *Post* a more baroque concept developed. The first occupant of the *Post's* chair of ombudsmanship, Richard Harwood, described his job as follows:

I was directed to monitor the paper each day after publication for fairness, for balance, for perspective. I was told to look into complaints from the public about our performance. And I was di-

rected to go public: To go out and talk to people about this news business—about the *Post*—and to write about it on the editorial page whenever the spirit moved me. [ASNE *Bulletin*, February, 1972]

Although Harwood described this as “a relatively simple job,” it was highly complicated in theory, for it combined three possibly inharmonious functions—that of a “complaints” editor, that of an internal monitor, and that of a general educational writer on the media.

Ben H. Bagdikian, who had already established himself as a nationally known press critic before he joined the *Post*, succeeded Harwood late in 1971 and found himself hard-pressed by the contradictions. In particular, he could not reconcile the roles of being an independent critic on behalf of the public with being part of the management team, reporting on the daily operation to executives; moreover, he found that the duty of handling complaints interfered with his efforts as a general critic. Although he continued to handle complaints, he terminated his predecessor’s practice of supplying confidential memos on staff performance to the management. He also believed that as an independent critic he should be free to criticize management as well as staff. These beliefs produced a notable lack of harmony, and mutual distress, leading to his resignation in August. Bagdikian left behind a series of recommendations:

- 1) That the *Post*’s press critic be hired for a short-term, nonrenewable contract.
- 2) That the critic not be burdened with handling reader complaints.
- 3) That the critic work outside the newsroom, so as to avoid the appearance of undercutting operating editors.
- 4) That assessments of the work of staff members be shown to those involved, with a right of reply offered.
- 5) That the critic have space guaranteed in the paper, so as to avoid the charge that the paper prints only what it agrees with.
- 6) That the critic be a person whose standards are in fundamental agreement with the newspaper’s traditions.

When the *Post* named Robert C. Maynard, a black reporter, to an eighteen-month term as ombudsman on Oct. 1, it appeared neither to have

entirely accepted nor rejected Bagdikian’s recommendations. Thus Maynard still faces the inherent problem of resolving the contradiction between being both a cog and a critic of the organization. The long-range solution may be diversification—that is, separation of the public and internal functions into two jobs. A large newspaper might well find it worth its money to have two critics—one to keep watch on day-to-day operations to see that management’s standards are applied, and another to serve as a public critic, to set the performance of the newspaper in the context of major issues.

Councils at work

Canada now has three press councils established at the provincial level. All follow in general the British pattern; they are nonofficial bodies with both press and public membership. The Alberta Council, sponsored by five dailies, began work on Sept. 1. The Ontario Council, backed by eight newspapers, started late in the summer. A Quebec council still is being organized. All three councils were founded in line with recommendations in 1971 of the Davey inquiry into the media.

A future for the FOI Center

One side effect of the current financial strains among American universities was a warning by the University of Missouri to the Freedom of Information Center on its campus that it would have to put itself on a break-even basis. In the long run, the warning may prove healthy for the center, because it lays the question of support at the feet of the business that benefits most from its work—the press.

Since it was established in 1958 by the Missouri School of Journalism, the FOI Center has indeed served the press well, assisting major campaigns on such issues as access to official records and executive privilege; issuing nearly 300 reports on specific FOI topics; publishing the *FOI Digest*, a newsletter and bibliography on current devel-

opments; and generally rendering assistance to all who needed it. Overall, the FOI Center has done much to lend depth and focus to a subject that once involved more rhetoric than substance.

The center's immediate financial problem was alleviated by a grant of \$15,000 from the American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation. But the center has a long-term need for roughly \$100,000 to make its future secure. This money should be forthcoming, not only from concerned individuals, but from the institutions whose future the FOI Center helps defend.

Minority reports

On Aug. 8, the New York *Post* ran a story 17½ inches long on a decision by the State Human Rights Appeal Board clearing the paper of discrimination in the dismissal of a black reporter. But did the *Post* devote anything close to that length to any previous development in the story?

Newsweek was less fortunate, being found guilty, by the Washington Human Rights Commission, of discrimination in the discharge of Samuel Yette, author of *The Choice: The Issue of Black Survival in America*. Note: The information was published, not in the pages of *Newsweek*, but in *Jet* magazine.

New monitors

Springfield, Ill., has a small review of journalism in the form of a column, "The Press Box," run in a local weekly independent paper, *The Phoenix*. The column devotes its attention largely to the daily newspapers of Springfield and Chicago.

Alaska claims the "world's farthest north journalism review," for what the claim is worth. *Countermedia: The Alaska Journalism Review & Supplement* was to begin ten-times-a-year publication on Oct. 1. Editor and publisher: Joe E. La Rocca. Address: Box 2299, Fairbanks, Alaska 99707. Rate: \$15 a year.

The Guild Reporter [July 28] calls attention to *The Guildsman*, official publication of Local 92, Sacramento. The paper was a routine union newsletter until September, 1970, when it began to serve as a watchdog of the local press, a function it has continued to the present.

For the record

Eight years ago, this publication urged President Johnson to divest himself of his broadcast properties, notably his monopoly VHF TV channel in Austin, Tex., because of a "basic conflict of interest" between such ownership and effective federal regulation [EDITORIAL NOTEBOOK, Summer, 1964]. Now that it no longer matters, the Johnson family has sold KTBC-TV under an FCC directive forbidding simultaneous ownership, under some circumstances, of cable and over-the-air properties. The price was some \$9 million and the purchaser was the Times Mirror Co. of Los Angeles.

For two of the reporters involved, the impact of the Supreme Court decision on grand-jury appearances by journalists was more immediate than expected. On Sept. 1, Paul Branzburg, formerly of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, was sentenced to six months in jail for refusing to reveal the identity of two men he had seen making hashish in 1969. Branzburg announced that he would not return to Louisville voluntarily from Detroit, where he now works for the *Free Press*.

The consequences were even more severe for Peter Bridge of the late Newark *News*, who, when he went to jail on October 3, became the first martyr created by the *Caldwell* decision. Bridge appeared before a grand jury but refused, on constitutional grounds, to respond to questions concerning unpublished information. The courts held that he was not covered either by New Jersey's confidentiality law nor by the First Amendment, and he was imprisoned for contempt. In another instance, the Washington *Post*, seeking confidential interviews with federal prisoners in a case arising from Ben Bagdikian's 1971 series on

prisons, had an apparent victory stalled when the courts ordered further argument to see whether the *Caldwell* decision had any bearing.

Darts and laurels

Laurel: to Dan Hicks, Jr., editor of the weekly *Democrat* of Madisonville, Tenn., for displaying double courage—not only for resuming publication after his plant was burned down (presumably by persons offended by his investigations of corruption) on Aug. 23, but for turning down any national money-raising campaign in his determination to continue on his own.

Dart: to WLS-TV, the ABC outlet in Chicago, for carrying news-staff chumminess to the point of bragging that it has “the first news team in America to play encounter group games.” The promotion ads, with patently contrived photographs [below], fail to explain how this activity might improve the station’s news broadcasts.



Laurel: to Jean Heller of the Associated Press for her investigation that produced the chilling revelation that the U.S. Public Health Service had used black syphilis victims as guinea pigs.

Dart: to WWJ, Channel 4 in Detroit, for regressing to the bad old days and showing, on Aug. 10, a supposed “documentary” called *Only the Strong*, which was produced by the Institute of American Strategy, a nonprofit organization that has ties to major defense contractors. And to the *Detroit News* for blandly promoting the program in its TV column.

Laurel: to the McKay Commission, which investigated the Attica prison uprising, for presenting its official findings in TV format as well as print, and to the Public Broadcasting Service for offering the report nationwide on Sept. 13. The presentation amounted to a new recognition of TV as a public medium on a par with the printing press.

Dart: to Harper & Row, for its dangerous disregard of its own and its author’s rights in permitting the Central Intelligence Agency to review, before publication, Alfred W. McCoy’s book, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*.

Laurel: to John C. Ottinger and Patrick D. Maines, for an article in the *National Review* of Sept. 15—“Is It True What They Say About the New York Times?”—in which the authors note a circumstance equally disregarded on the right and the left: that what a newspaper publishes can in fact offer a fair exposition of policies to which it may be opposed editorially.

Striking coincidence department

HARTFORD, Ct., July 31—The first reported sale of a variable life insurance policy in this country was made in Little Rock, Ark., today by a subsidiary of Aetna Life & Casualty.

The policy was purchased from Aetna Variable Annuity Life Insurance Company by the Arkansas Neurological Clinic, Ltd., as part of a qualified corporate pension plan for its employees.

The policy’s distinguishing characteristic is that its cash value and death benefit will vary with the investment performance of a separate portfolio of equity securities in which premiums are invested, Aetna

—News release,
Aetna Life & Casualty Co.

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—Hartford, Conn.,
Courant, Aug. 1.

The rush to chain ownership

First came the end of newspaper competition. Now local monopolies are being consolidated into chains and conglomerates—abetted by U.S. tax laws.

ROBERT L. BISHOP

■ The “good old days” included a lot of seamy journalistic history but they did have one advantage: competition. Newspapers were never what they should have been, but even small towns had two or more, each keeping an eye on the others and on the public interest as they saw it. Now head-to-head competition is almost dead, and even separate ownership of morning and afternoon papers is practically gone. We are well along toward wiping out independent ownerships of both newspapers and television stations, to the point that consolidation often means capitalistic cannibalism—one group or chain swallowing another. And much of this has come about because of U.S. tax laws.

Consider these points:

1) The percentage of American cities with competing newspapers fell from about 60 per cent in

1910 to 15 per cent in 1950 and now is less than 4 per cent.

2) The percentage of daily newspaper circulation held by group newspapers rose from about 43 per cent in 1950 to more than 60 per cent in 1972.

3) Annual revenues of the ten largest daily newspaper groups are estimated at about \$2.2 billion—approximately one-fourth of the total for the entire industry. They also have one-third of the circulation.

4) Cross-media owners (holders of print and broadcast properties) control 36 per cent of all daily newspapers. They also own 25 per cent of the TV stations, 8.6 per cent of AM radio, and 9.5 per cent of FM radio. Almost all the AM stations are in the top ten markets.

5) The combined holdings of groups, cross-media owners, conglomerates, and firms related to the mass media encompass 58 per cent of daily newspapers, 77 per cent of TV stations, 27 per cent of AM and 29 per cent of FM stations.

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The state of Michigan offers some concrete examples. Within two years, two Michigan chains have been bought by Gannett and the largest independent paper was purchased by Panax—leaving only two independents with more than 20,000 circulation. The twenty-five independent papers that survive account for only 11 per cent of the total state circulation. I exclude the *Detroit News* because, although it is legally independent, it owns three TV stations and has extensive family ties to Booth, Hearst, and Scripps-Howard. Other recent newspaper sales include the Niles, Mich., *Star* to Ridder Publications and the Ypsilanti *Press* to Harte-Hanks.

Neighboring Ohio has similar conditions—independent papers account for 24 per cent of the circulation, if one includes the Cincinnati *Enquirer* and Columbus *Dispatch*. Scripps-Howard, following a court order, sold its interest in the *Enquirer*—since resold to an insurance and land company—and the *Dispatch* operates under a joint printing and business agreement with the E. W. Scripps *Citizen-Journal*. About twenty-one different groups have footholds in Ohio through sixty-three daily newspapers. The largest number—ten—is held by Lord Thomson, the British press magnate.

(Broadcasting, which becomes more and more important as the only possible competing editorial voice in many communities, is, if anything, worse off. For example, of the thirty-one transfers in fiscal 1971 which exceeded \$1 million each, only two were to individual ownerships rather than to groups or cross-media owners. The thirty-one transfers involved twenty-nine TV stations and twenty-six radio stations. Even counting the less profitable UHF stations, the network O and O's and the seven largest groups probably got more than one-third of station revenue, not counting revenues which went to the networks directly. This means that less than 7 per cent of the stations get one-third of the money, and a far greater share of profits.)

Both newspapers and broadcasting stations are falling to conglomerates. All three of the networks could be termed conglomerates because of their interests in other media, rental cars, baseball teams, theaters, etc. But twenty other con-

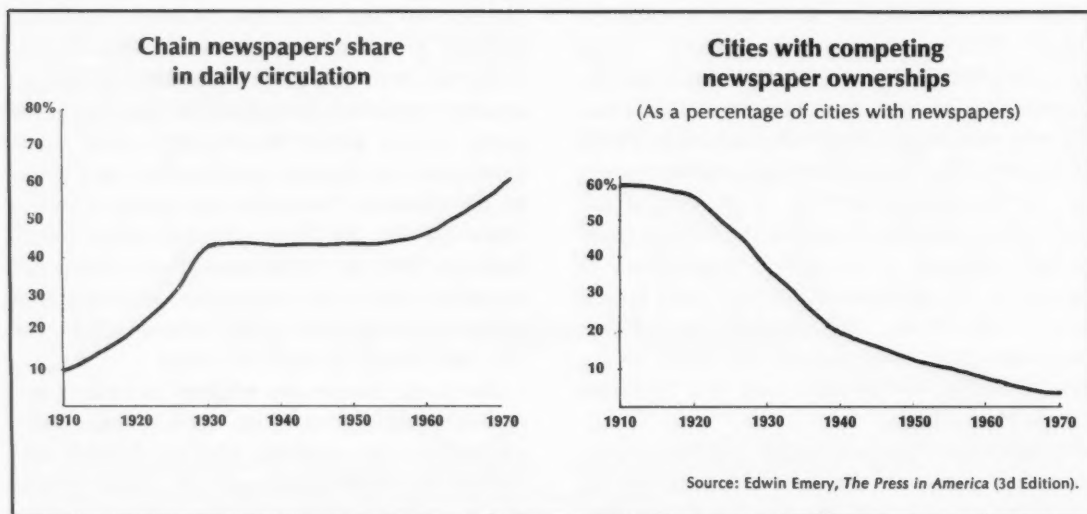
glomerates have broadcast interests, including General Tire, aerospace contractor Avco, Nationwide Insurance, and Kaiser Industries. Newspaper owners include the Jefferson-Pilot insurance company, Capital Cities Broadcasting, Field Enterprises, and the Houston Endowment, Inc., owner of the *Houston Chronicle*, the largest paper in Texas. As Ben Bagdikian pointed out in the *Atlantic* in 1966, the Endowment also has important interests in thirty-two corporations and a majority interest in twenty-five. These include banks, hotels, office buildings, and real estate.

Nor is the picture any brighter in cable television—regarded by many as the last hope for a competitive mass medium. Half of all cable subscribers, or 2.5 million people, are served by one of eleven U.S. CATV companies. When pending mergers are completed, six companies will serve one-third of the subscribers. Fourth largest is Cox Cable Communications, which is linked with Cox Broadcasting and under the same general ownership as Cox Newspapers. Tenth and trying hard to grow is Time-Life Broadcast, Inc., which is selling its over-the-air properties to make room for cable. About 42 per cent of CATV is owned by other media interests, according to *Broadcasting* magazine; broadcasters own 30 per cent, newspaper publishers 7 per cent, and telephone companies 5 per cent.

Some communications principalities have far-reaching tentacles in all media. The empire headed by James Cox, for example, is in the top ten in newspapers, broadcasting, and CATV.

Cox has both the morning and afternoon papers in Atlanta, Ga., West Palm Beach, Fla., and Dayton and Springfield, O., his father's old political power base. He also has papers in Miami, Palm Beach, and a 47 per cent interest in both Daytona Beach papers. The only Cox paper facing local competition is the *Miami News*. Even the *News* has the evening field to itself and is sheltered in a joint operating agreement with the Knights' *Miami Herald*. Circulation tops a million and Cox newspaper revenues probably hit \$120 million annually, with revenues before taxes of \$14 to \$20 million.

Cox Broadcasting reported revenues of \$65.3 million for 1971: a \$15.8 million profit before



and \$8.1 million after taxes (a respectable but not overwhelming return of 12 per cent after corporate taxes). Company earnings, after taxes, amounted to almost one-third the net value of all property, plant, and equipment, or 13 per cent on stockholder's equity. More important to the stockholder, however, is the fact that his equity has grown by \$44.3 million since 1964—up almost two and a half times.

Two-thirds of Cox's income comes from broadcasting: five VHF stations in the top thirty markets, together with four AM and four FM radio stations. Fifteen per cent of revenues comes from publishing. (CBC owns 98 per cent of United Technical Publications, with magazines like *Electronic Products* and *Office Products News*; its National Auto Research issues a weekly automobile price guide, the *Black Book*; *Industrial Machinery News* is the largest publication of its type; and Amphoto is the largest publisher in photography.) Seven per cent of revenue comes from program distribution and production: CBC's Bing Crosby Productions produces such winners as *Willard* and a son of *Willard*, *Ben*; CBC syndicates *Hogan's Heroes* and *Ben Casey*; and last year it produced *World Series of Golf*, on NBC.

Program production is a natural interest for any cable operator. CBC owns 56.3 per cent of Cox Cable Communications, Inc., fourth-largest system in the country. Cox Cable has twenty-nine

different systems with about 230,000 subscribers. It already returns about 10 per cent on revenues before taxes.

The Cox interests are not unique. Every newspaper group in the top ten has substantial interests in other areas, especially broadcasting. Knight Newspapers probably has the least outside involvement—five weeklies, a transportation company, a newspaper supply company, an advertising firm, and an interest in one TV and eight radio stations through Summit Radio Stations. (The TV station is Akron's only station, and Knight has the only daily newspaper. Another station has been authorized but never built.)

Another example of a media empire is the Times Mirror Co. Its anchor is the *Los Angeles Times*, but the *Times*, the *Daily Pilot*, *Newsday*, and the *Dallas Times Herald* account for less than half of Times Mirror's total revenue. The stable also includes several publishing companies which issue law books, medical journals, Bibles, *An American Jewish Cookbook*, and trade books such as Gay Talese's *Honor Thy Father*. Lumber, plywood, and paper come from Times Mirror forests and mills. *Popular Science*, maps, aviation products, educational and travel materials, commercial printing, a Dallas TV station, and twenty-one CATV systems contribute further to total corporate revenues of \$524 million.

All these diverse interests give leading media

groups a tremendous impact on the economy. If one takes into account both the media and non-media revenues of the ten largest broadcasting organizations and the ten largest newspaper groups, the total is near \$15 billion. And that, obviously, is just a small measure of their potential influence.

Nor is a recitation of each company's holdings the entire story. A cursory look at most of the large broadcasters or publishers reveals many connections with other interests, either through directors who serve in more than one company or through family ties.

Take the Cowles family. One branch, headed by John Cowles, Sr., owns the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co. Its interests include 50 per cent of *Harper's*; four newspapers, including the Minneapolis Star and Tribune; a TV station in Hutchinson, Kan.; and a 47 per cent interest in a Minneapolis radio-TV-CATV combination. John Cowles' family shares, with his brother Gardner Cowles, ownership of the Des Moines Register and Tribune. That firm operates a radio-TV combination in Des Moines, a TV station in Daytona Beach, Fla., and an AM and FM station in Memphis. (The sister TV station is operated by the New York Times.) Gardner Cowles, who formerly published *Look* and other magazines, in turn owns a 23 per cent interest in the New York Times through stock exchanged after *Look's* demise.

But the trail does not end there. The Minneapolis broadcasting company is held jointly with the Ridder family, publishers of the St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer-Press and fifteen other dailies. (On the side, the company has eleven California weeklies, radio stations in Aberdeen, S.D., Colorado Springs, Colo., radio and TV stations in Duluth, Minn., and commodity news market wires.) Ridder is a minority stockholder in the Seattle Times, which in turn owns both papers in Walla Walla. And serving on the Ridder board of directors is Lee E. Owens, president of Owens Publications, with dailies in Richmond, Whittier, and Berkeley, Calif. Also on the Ridder board are the chief executive officers of Burlington Northern, Inc., and the Bank of California.

The Mormon Church furnishes another well-known study of interlocking interests, vaguely

related to even the Los Angeles Times through Times Mirror. The church owns real estate, department stores, life insurance, trucking, sugar plantations, and more than 600 farms, forty mills, factories and salvage stores, and Florida land. Bonneville International Corp. is a wholly-owned subsidiary which owns two TV and eleven radio

"Far-reaching tentacles in all media . . ."

stations, including one shortwave. It also has a nonvoting interest in Times Mirror.

The church's daily newspaper, the *Deseret News*, has a joint operating agreement with the Kearns-Tribune Corp. Kearns-Tribune owns 35 per cent of a TV station in Salt Lake City, and another, owned by Columbia Pictures, is associated with K-T and the church in a CATV venture. K-T also owns a portion of Los Angeles' Times Mirror. In addition, K-T shares its TV station ownership with the Glasmann-Hatch interests (the only paper in Ogden, Utah, eight radio stations and two more TV stations in Utah, Montana, Idaho, and Hawaii, plus CATV systems). Utah probably is more completely under the control of a communications combine than any other state in the Union.

The board of directors of the Times Mirror company is a story in itself. The firm had sixteen directors in 1971, most of them outside officials from enterprises such as North American Rockwell, TRW, Inc., Republic National Bank of Dallas, Northrop, and law and securities firms.

One also could discuss the Washington Post's link to the New York Times through joint interests in the International Herald Tribune; the Post and the Los Angeles Times' tie through a joint news service; the ramifications of the Hearst Corp.; or the various links between Scripps-Howard, the Scripps League, Howard Publications,

Leading newspaper groups

(1971)

	Circulation	Gross Revenues	Profit After Taxes
		(In Millions)	(In Millions)
Tribune Company	3,631,451	\$479.0	\$13.5
Newhouse	3,370,785	450.0*	18.0*
Knight	2,204,000	271.4	16.1
Scripps-Howard	2,264,502	250.0*	12.5*
Gannett	2,197,997	238.4	19.7
Hearst	1,709,288	160.0*	9.0*
Times Mirror	1,686,556	523.8	34.9
Cox Newspapers	1,014,662	120.0*	7.0*
Cowles Publications	901,648	100.0*	6.0*
New York Times	891,460	290.9	9.4

* Estimates

Note: All figures include non-newspaper operations except Cox Newspapers (Cox Broadcasting and Cox Cable are separate, publicly held companies).

Source: Robert L. Bishop

the Buckner News Alliance, the Detroit *Evening News*, John P. Scripps Newspapers, their broadcasting arms, and United Press International. But even without doing so, it is easy to see that a fairly small community controls a tremendous share of America's communications network. And there is no doubt that the trend is to consolidation, not diversification.

Is such concentration bad? The answer is not inevitably and invariably yes. A proprietor's actions are more important than the form of incorporation. John C. Quinn, group vice president for news in the Gannett group, made a good case for group ownership before the 1972 assembly of the International Press Institute:

Newspaper concentration may multiply the anxiety over evil; it also increases the capacity for good. And a publisher's instinct for good over evil is not determined by the number of newspapers he owns. A group can attract top professional talent, offer training under a variety of editors, advancement through a variety of opportunities, long-term careers on newspapers with a variety of size, geography, publishing cycle, and readership needs. It can invest in the research and development and nuts and bolts experience necessary to translate the theories of new technology into the practical production of better newspapers.

Concentrated ownership can provide great resources; only independent local judgment can use these resources to produce a responsible and responsive local newspaper. That measure cannot be inflated by competition nor can it be diluted by monopoly.

Quinn may be correct in saying that only a group can provide the capital, the technology, and the management to keep a local newspaper competitive with other advertising media. He is certainly correct in saying that a group owner may be as much a saint or rascal as an individual owner. He is not correct in implying that the managers of a public corporation are as free to take unpopular and unprofitable stands as an individual owner. As one executive in a publicly-held corporation recently lamented, "Now I'm expected to make money from the photo department and the morgue!"

The fiduciary relationship of an editor is a new consideration in the debate over concentration, however. Generally, American theory has agreed with Quinn that big owners can be tremendous influences for either good or evil. But with one eye on human nature, we have chosen to have a lot of little rascals keeping an eye on one another. The theory was that Great White Fathers are scarce, and that it was better to confine each owner to one slice of the media pie in one locale. Our practice, of course, has been quite different. We have abandoned local competition and are in the process of wiping out regional competition.

As Quinn said, concentration puts enormous financial, political, and social power in the hands of a few people. Some are primarily newsmen, concerned with what goes between the ads as well as what pays the bill. Sale of a paper to the Knight group, for instance, generally means an increase in quality. But some other chain owners are strictly businessmen who happened to get into communications. These include men like Samuel I. Newhouse, or the notoriously indiscreet Lord Thomson, who is fond of comparing newspapers and television stations to a cash box or a license to print money.

Worst of the lot are the manipulators. Walter Annenberg was certainly among this crowd until selling his Philadelphia papers to Knight. Wil-

liam Loeb of the Manchester, N. H., *Union Leader* may be the worst illustration left.

The second reason for opposing such concentration is the danger of cross-media ownership and local or regional monopolies. These abound throughout the country, as shown in a recent study by Paul Jess of the University of Michigan. In 1970, Jess says, seventy-two of the 1,500 U.S. cities with daily newspapers had no competing ownerships, though they had both print and

*"Practically every
method of merger and
purchase known . . ."*

broadcast facilities. One owner clearly dominated eighty-three other cities. Seventeen of these cities were between 50 and 100,000 in population; eight had more than 100,000 people.

Among cities with no competition were Santa Cruz, Calif. (32,000 people), Stamford, Conn. (109,000), and Bloomington, Ill. (66,000). One owner was dominant in cities like Tacoma, Wash. (154,000), Akron, O. (275,425), and Newport News, Va. (138,000).

Granted that many of these communities can receive other broadcast signals, or subscribe to newsmagazines or regional newspapers. But this ignores a newsman's most important function—keeping an eye on his own community. So what if we can find out what is happening in Nepal? What touches us every day is our local government, our local schools, our local social problems; these are things we can do something about.

A single owner may cut off sources of information deliberately or indirectly through not providing enough newsmen to do the job. Whether the news is unreported because of an industrialist who sits on the board of directors or because of an absentee owner more intent on black ink than black problems makes no difference.

Corporations and groups are much like real

live publishers in their personnel policies. Some—like Booth, Knight, Gannett, and Times Mirror—hire first-rate men. Others—like Cox and Thomson—pay more attention to getting the most work for the least pay. One of the Ridder family candidly told a brilliant young assistant that there was no future for him in the business: "What we need is a constant supply of mediocrity."

Thomson stands willing to lose between \$2 and \$3 million a year to keep the *Times of London* alive. (Losses now are reported to be down to a more manageable \$1.5 million.) But his smaller papers spare no economy. One Thomson alumnus tells how Thomson drove more than 100 miles years ago to convince him that it was in his best interests to take a space-rate cut from 10 cents to 8 cents an inch!

The third reason for opposing concentration is that problems of one region not reported there may never be aired in other parts of the world. Most of the news which moves over the wire services or the networks originates in a tip from a local newsman. If no competent newsman is there, the story dies—or smolders until it becomes another Watts or Laos. Consolidation is a worldwide phenomenon and it brings the threat of interference with even international news.

A fourth reason is purely commercial—ad rates go down with competition. In a monopoly situation, all one need do to increase profits is raise advertising rates, with no compulsion to plow the added revenue into editorial improvements.

What causes newspapers and stations to merge? Sometimes the answer is rooted in pride—at one time Lord Thomson would buy almost any paper because he wanted to own more than 100. He more than got his wish; his empire now includes about 170. Thomson also bought the *Times of London* not only because he thought he could make it profitable again but also because he saw it as his "monument."

But the main reasons for mergers are economic and apply in every industrialized society. Tax structures are designed to encourage capital formation and industrial growth. This has meant steep income taxes but a low capital gains tax. U.S. rates on personal income go as high as 70 per cent; capital gains are taxed at one-half the

Varying costs of buying a \$5 million newspaper

Source of funds	Cost
Corporate profits paid to individual in 50% tax bracket	\$19.4 million
Personal income in 50% tax bracket	\$10 million
Corporate earnings	\$ 9.6 million
Corporate capital gains	\$ 7.7 million
Individual capital gains	\$ 6.7 million
Stock swap, price/earnings ratio of 25, paper selling at 25 times earnings	\$.0*
Stock swap, price/earnings ratio of 50, paper selling at 25 times earnings	\$ 5 million gain for buyer*

* Does not allow for buyer's gain in new basis for depreciating the newspaper plant, which could provide another \$500,000 tax shelter.

Source: Robert L. Bishop

individual's ordinary rate, up to 25 per cent (35 per cent for corporations). The reasonable person's response to this incentive is predictable: take as little out of the company in the form of salaries or dividends as possible, while trying to increase the value of the company or its stock.

The Panax Corp. of Michigan illustrates the advantages of this tactic. During twelve months in 1970-71, the corporation sold a daily, a weekly, and a radio station for capital gains, after taxes, of \$1.8 million. The proceeds enabled Panax to merge with the *Macomb Daily*, largest independent paper in the state except for the *Detroit News*, and another group of seven suburban weeklies. Capital gains recorded for 1971 were almost four times the net income from operations. Small wonder that President John P. McGoff closed his annual message by saying:

By borrowing, buying, selling, merging, and building, your Company has emerged as a viable, growing, and profitable publishing organization. It is a policy that has served us well. We plan no change in direction.

Harte-Hanks, in becoming a publicly held stock

company recently, illustrated two more ways to obtain capital gains. In "going public," H-H established a market and a price for its stock; thus shareholders could dispose of part or all of their holdings whenever they chose—at the capital gains rate. More importantly, the market established a high price for the stock, making it much easier to acquire other papers through mergers and stock swaps. It was as though every dollar of H-H assets had suddenly become worth \$1.50.

Why does a newspaper or broadcasting group go public? Certainly the disadvantages are sobering. The owner has to reveal many of his financial secrets. If the stock offering is more than a small one, he must meet fairly stringent requirements from the Securities & Exchange Commission. The expenses of underwriting are considerable, and there is the possibility of annoyance from unhappy stockholders.

Still, dozens of owners have taken the path to the brokers. Some obviously had to raise more capital than they could as individuals. Others sought to give the company life beyond their own years and, in the process, to avoid some of the tax problems which so easily beset proprietors. A primary motive is to raise values before proposing mergers through stock swaps. Usually an entrepreneur gets a business going, establishes a growth rate (which may come from acquisitions), and then sells stock. Typically the public pays ten to twenty times the price per share paid by the entrepreneur. For example, an electronics company went public a few years ago. The founder bought his stock at \$1 per share, his key executives bought at \$10 a share, and the public, at \$20 a share.

When the Harte-Hanks group went public this year, it had physical assets and cash valued at \$20 million after depreciation, and current liabilities and long-term debts of about \$14 million. The company and a group of private stockholders sold a little less than 10 per cent of the outstanding common stock for \$7.6 million. Within a month, because Harte-Hanks has been actively acquiring other newspapers, the stock went from an initial \$21 to \$33 per share—theoretically enriching those who held stock before the public offering by more than \$32 million.

Growth is the keyword in stock pricing. Harte-

Hanks sold for thirty-eight times its 1971 earnings per share—or, if one counts an extraordinary gain of \$1 million from the sale of securities in 1971, twenty-seven times earnings. The stock is priced this way because: 1) not much is available, and 2) it looks as though the company will grow rapidly. Since 1967, earnings per share (not counting extraordinary items) have gone up by one-third, and, because H-H is buying everything not nailed down, investors feel that earnings will continue to grow. Dividends play little part in setting stock prices—Gulf Oil or U.S. Steel pay much higher dividends than H-H, but their stock sells for nine times earnings because investors see little growth there and many pitfalls.

Gannett, the most acquisitive American chain in years, has been able to use practically every method of merger and purchase known to Wall Street. At the end of last year, the company had more than \$118 million in retained earnings and almost \$27 million in cash and marketable securities available for cash purchases. Tax-free stock swaps have been more profitable, though. Last fall, when Gannett purchased the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* group, its stock was selling for some \$60 per share. Assuming that the organization was valued at twenty-five times its earnings, with 1971 earnings per share as a base, each share would have been worth about \$42 rather than \$60. The value that stock-watchers put on growth saved Gannett almost one-third in acquisition costs.

Similarly, last June when Gannett acquired the El Paso *Times*, its shares were bringing \$76—thirty-five times 1971 earnings, or about \$25 per share more than the best stable newspaper stock and \$35 per share more than a quality issue like Booth Newspapers. The growth premium thus was almost 50 per cent. In short, Gannett's stock market performance probably saved the chain something like \$28 million in the purchase of sixteen newspapers.

If newspaper groups like Gannett follow the historical cycle of companies like the original Hearst empire or the more recent conglomerates, they will eventually level off and then begin to spin off companies. Sometimes a company must trim down because it has taken on more of a management problem than it can cope with. Other

times it comes a cropper over too much debt, which has a way of coming due in an advertising drought. Some conglomerates have fallen apart because their fabulous growth rates have been due to acquisitions and fancy bookkeeping. They bought staid, conservative companies for ten to fifteen times their annual earnings, and their glamour alone pushed their stock prices upward.

A new subsidiary often shows dramatic gains in earnings. In some cases this is due to increased

"Consolidation is a world-wide phenomenon . . ."

efficiency in management—typical when a family-owned newspaper is sold to a modern group—but in many cases the gain is through changes in accounting procedures. The new subsidiary will switch to accelerated depreciation—often worth millions in stated earnings through big tax deductions.

Depreciation is one of the most important facets of the sale of mass media facilities. The depreciation concept is an honest recognition that things do wear out or become obsolete and that a business must replace its equipment or go out of business. However, if a business changes hands, it usually turns out that some items are worth more than they were to begin with, at least for income tax purposes. Panax, for example, in the thirty-eight months before sale of the Ypsilanti *Press* to Harte-Hanks, wrote off more than \$250,000 in depreciation on the plant while putting approximately \$52,000 into property, plant, and equipment. But the property appreciated by more than \$1 million after taxes.

Depreciation schedules play a much more important role in the constant exchange of broadcasting companies, especially radio. There depreciation and interest payments are used to make the station show a loss, which can be subtracted

from the owner's ordinary income. Then the station is sold for a capital gain. The gain is reinvested in another "money-losing" station, relieving the owner of even the capital gains tax. The game can go on indefinitely, with the only real worry that someone will raise the capital gains rate or maybe abolish it altogether. According to the FCC, 1,388 radio stations showed a tax loss in 1970. But more than half reported payments to owners and depreciation charges which together exceeded their losses, and at some 411 stations payments to owners alone exceeded losses.

Even more important than reinvested capital gains has been financial leverage—the art of borrowing money in order to buy properties which have a higher rate of return than the interest on the loan. Between July 1, 1970, and June 30, 1971, William F. Buckley's company, the Starr Broadcasting Group, Inc., increased its long-term debt almost \$8 million at interest rates of up to 9.75 per cent. But the group and its subsidiaries had net earnings of \$961,924 (after taxes but before profits from the sale of radio stations) on a total equity of \$3,553,204—or a return of 27 per cent. If, instead of borrowing, stockholders had put up all the capital, return on equity would have been 7 per cent.

Another source of funding for expansion is retained earnings. These are profits, on which the corporate tax has been paid, which are held in the company for any business purpose. Very often this purpose is to lengthen a chain. If an individual outsider wishes to buy a newspaper or station, he probably will bid with money on which both corporate and individual income taxes have been paid. A corporation, however, may bid with monies generated by depreciation or capital gains—which may be completely tax-free—or retained earnings, free from personal income taxes. It takes no genius to see which bidder can pay more.

Some large companies have enormous retained earnings: Time, Inc., for one, had more than \$220 million at the end of 1971. Westinghouse has more than \$1 billion in retained earnings, with \$91 million in cash and marketable securities and another \$166 million in other investments. Capital Cities Broadcasting Corp. has almost \$87 million in retained earnings. The acquisition oppor-

tunities that such hoards offer are obvious.

What can be done about the decline of independent newspapers? Even maintaining the status quo will not be easy; improving on it will be even more difficult. But neither task is impossible.

1) The enormous, preferential treatment given to capital gains must be eliminated or severely limited. Otherwise we may well end up with one huge chain operating stations and publications as

"Some sort of Monopolies Commission is needed . . ."

though they were supermarkets, root beer stands, or outlets for advertising the company's own products. At this stage in our economic development, there seems little necessity to treat capital gains so generously; they should be taxed at the same rate as personal income, though collections might be spread over several years.

2) Corporate income taxes should be graduated, just as personal income taxes are. Most companies pay exactly the same rate, regardless of whether they make \$1 million or \$50 million. (The tax is 22 per cent on income up to \$25,000; 48 per cent over \$25,000.) And most tax loopholes work in favor of the larger company.

3) The rules on retained corporate earnings should be enforced. Companies often have cash and securities equal to one-fourth of their annual income. Until 1959, the IRS rule of thumb was that a company must pay out 70 per cent of its income to its owners. Perhaps we should return to some such guide, since growth companies usually pay only nominal sums.

4) Depreciation should not be allowed until equipment is actually replaced or sold. The diffi-

culty in regulating depreciation allowances is distinguishing between items which are wearing out or becoming obsolete, and those increasing in value. Probably the most equitable way would be to figure a tax credit on the basis of what actually happened to the asset.

5) No monopoly rent should be allowed, either for publishers or broadcasters. The concept of monopoly rent is easily illustrated. John S. Knight paid twenty times earnings for the Philadelphia *Inquirer* and *News*, with very little of that due as a cash down payment. For the noncompeting Macon, Ga., papers, he paid twenty-six times earnings. Had the Philadelphia papers had the market to themselves, they would have been worth at least \$14 million more—or an additional 25 per cent. This premium is monopoly rent.

Similarly, in broadcasting, the Atlanta *Journal* founded WSB-TV, and sold it in 1950 for \$525,000; in 1953, the station was resold for \$1.5 million; in 1962, \$2.25 million; and in 1967 \$12.89 million. Probably 80 per cent of the price was due to the partial monopoly granted by the public.

Eliminating capital gains would reduce these prices, but there is no reason why the public should not participate in any gain. A simple solution would be to forbid the transfer of broadcast licenses. Or one could adopt the British solution—government ownership of broadcasting facilities, which are then rented to programming companies at fairly high rates. Or one could tax unearned gains on the ground that the public is part owner of the station's most valuable asset, its license.

6) For publication sales, some sort of Monopolies Commission is needed—but one with far more power than the harmless British version. Such a commission would immediately be attacked as an infringement of press freedom. But why allow entrepreneurs to use what they call freedom of the press to kill the very thing the First Amendment seeks to shield?

A Monopolies Commission might require that publications be advertised for six months before a sale could be consummated with any other media owner, and that first consideration be given an individual ownership if a reasonable bid could be found. If the company had to be sold to a competitor or a group, the Commission would determine the fair market value of the paper or magazine and declare the remainder subject to an excess profits tax.

7) The one-to-a-market rule should be enforced in both cable and conventional media. Only a few locales can make a convincing plea for cross-media ownership in today's competitive marketplace.

8) The federal government should help solve distribution problems for magazines and local newspapers by restructuring postal rates. These rates should encourage small publications which depend more on subscriber income than advertising revenues.

9) Restrictive business practices should be prosecuted. Syndicated material, for instance, is often held off the market just to keep a publisher's competitors from getting it.

Dr. Jon G. Udell, director of the Bureau of Business Research and Service at the University of Wisconsin, has written:

The free press of the United States rests on two foundations:

- The First Amendment, or the right to report the news.
- Economic security, or the means to report the news.

I agree wholeheartedly. But I must inquire as to the economic security of those papers merged out of existence, and to the First Amendment protection of those readers and listeners whose right to know is subordinated to the right to make a financial killing.

Headlines
we can do
without

Crashes Kids Party

22 Killed By Plane

—Elizabeth, N.J.,
Daily Journal,
Sept. 25.

Why are so many important stories ignored or underplayed? A proposal for "a reliable and systematic process" of evaluating performance within the newsroom.

Auditing the media: a modest proposal

MORTON MINTZ

■ News, like beauty, is in the eyes of the beholder. News, to strip the point of euphemism, is what we say it is. The Supreme Court has a charter to interpret, and so do we—reporters, editors, publishers. What is news? Times change: do our definitions of news reflect the changes? Can we improve our performance? Possibly I am bemused by my own rhetoric, but I am inclined to think that the lack of processes which would force us regularly to examine our premises may well be the gravest defect of the American press.

The press, obviously, cannot possibly do all it "should" do, including investigating every outrageous claim made by outrageous leaders. The country—not to mention the rest of the world—is too big, complex, interesting, corrupt, newsy. This only makes it the more essential that we try to use intelligently the necessarily limited resources we have. I am not sure that we do. Consider the following cases. Each relates to an activity of Con-

gress or its investigating arm, the General Accounting Office. Each was reported by the major news media trivially or not at all. Each is part of a relatively narrow and circumscribed personal experience—my own.

Take first a set of hearings that then Rep. Kenneth A. Roberts of Alabama opened on July 16, 1956, and continued intermittently through 1963. Since September, 1899, when the first recorded death by automobile occurred, there had been a fifty-seven-year total of more than 1,125,000 auto fatalities—and many million injuries. The Roberts hearings partly concerned the role of automobile design in this slaughter. Physicians, engineers, and other specialists in crash-injury research emphasized that the industry had the capability to design cars to make possible accident-victim survival or injuries of lesser severity. Yet industry talk about the nut behind the wheel never progressed to talk about the nut who refused to recess protruding dashboard knobs that penetrated skulls and kneecaps.

The general news media gave these hearings negligible attention. Not until 1965, when Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut began the hearings that developed the General Motors-

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Ralph Nader "snooping" episode, was the enormous life-and-death importance of vehicle design reported adequately enough to begin to penetrate public awareness. Without this reporting, and without this awareness, Congress never would have passed the pioneering motor vehicle safety act of 1966. Had we had the necessary reporting of the Roberts hearings a decade earlier, rather than merely endless, mindless episodic recitals of who was killed and injured yesterday in collisions, probably tens of thousands of people would not have been killed and hundreds of thousands would have been injured less severely or not at all.

In another case, early in 1962 Dr. Helen Taussig, the famed codiscoverer of the "Blue Baby" operation and a pediatric cardiologist at Johns Hopkins, went to Germany to make a firsthand investigation of the birth of armless and legless babies, later found to number in the thousands. This ghastly epidemic was major news in Europe—yet American news media, which of course were represented in Europe, did not make it news here. On her return, Dr. Taussig testified before the House Antitrust Subcommittee that a sedative called thalidomide was to blame. Not until much later was her testimony reported and the news divulged that Richardson-Merrell, Inc., had distributed 2.5 million thalidomide tablets to American physicians on an "experimental" basis.

Or take 1967, when Congress adopted without audible dissent a Joint Resolution which declared that "the American consumer has a right to be protected against unreasonable risk of bodily harm from products purchased on the open market for the use of himself and his family." So saying, Congress provided for the establishment of a National Commission on Product Safety. The Commission found that each year 30,000 Americans are killed, 110,000 are permanently disabled, and 20 million are temporarily injured in the home as a result of incidents connected with consumer products.

The Commission held hearings for two and a half years. One hearing, in the New Senate Office Building, on Jan. 14, 1969, concerned the hazards of sliding doors fitted with cheap glass that breaks easily, and splits into shards. The Commission had government estimates that 100,000 children a year have been injured, some fatally, by crashing into

such doors—which, in many cases, they did not know were there. The testimony was poignant. Mr. and Mrs. Pierce Hardy of Gainesville, Ga., told of the death of a nine-year-old daughter who, at a neighbor's home, was running and hit a sliding glass door. "Her jugular vein was cut," Mrs. Hardy testified. "The glass went in her and penetrated her spinal column. She also had severe cuts on her leg and bled to death." Dennis A. Dooley, a Capitol Hill policeman, told how his five-year-old son, while helping the family move into a new apartment, walked into a sliding glass door and was horribly cut. "I took my hand," the father said at one point, "and I put his nose back where it belonged."

A month later, at another hearing in the New Senate Office Building, it was estimated that as many as 60,000 children per year crawled, toddled, or walked onto the searing hot grills of gas-fired floor furnaces and suffered serious burns. Since the late 1950s, Public Health Services physicians testified, they had tried to persuade the American Gas Assn. to deny its seal of approval to the furnaces—of which there were millions—if they could not be made safe. The Association said nothing could be done. But a small engineering consultant firm in Baltimore, with an \$800 nonprofit contract from the Commission staff, devised several ways to eliminate grill burns; the simplest and cheapest was to fit a fiberglass mat over the grill.

Neither Commission hearing drew significant attention from most major news media.

On May 7 and June 24, 1969, in hearings covered only by James V. Risser of the *Des Moines Register* and myself, the House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee established that the federal agency then charged with regulation of pesticides had "failed almost completely" for more than twenty years to enforce a law protecting the public from these dangerous chemicals. The then-administrator, to cite but one item, assured the subcommittee that arrangements of the Pesticide Regulation Division of the Department of Agriculture for obtaining information on pesticide poisonings was working well. In 1968, he said, his unit had reports on fifty-two incidents involving 163 persons. The subcommittee found more—about 5,000 such reports to various federal agencies involving

possibly 50,000 pesticide poisonings a year.

A final item from 1969: At a hearing on July 24, the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee staff calculated that the oil import quota system was costing consumers 5 cents on every gallon of gasoline and 4 cents on every gallon of household heating oil. This was an impact roughly comparable to that of the surtax, the fate of which was then uncertain. But while the surtax got immense coverage day after day, the import quota disclosure got 13 inches on page A-18 of the *Washington Post* and no attention from other media—none having been represented at the hearing.

Last year produced other examples. On Aug. 3, with the poisonous vichyssoise case still fresh in mind, the Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration testified that, given present funds and staff, FDA inspectors were visiting each food manufacturing and processing plant on an average of every five to seven years. The Commissioner reported this at a hearing held by Rep. Paul G. Rogers of Florida, chairman of a House Commerce Subcommittee. The *Washington Post* carried the story on page A-15. Several months later the *New York Times*—better late than never—carried a front-page story on the infrequency of food plant inspections.

But the list of neglected Congressional stories does not end there. In January of this year, for example, a Joint Economic subcommittee developed these facts:

1) In the mid-1960s, the Internal Revenue Service had levied deficiency assessments of about \$1 billion—the largest in IRS history—against giant American oil companies for posting artificially high prices for crude oil from the Persian Gulf. This had enabled them illegally to inflate the substantial benefits they already were deriving from the oil depletion allowance. Secretly, the IRS settled the deficiency assessment—for about 50 cents on the dollar.

2) Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell had, in the summer of 1971, shelved a recommendation by the Antitrust Division for a formal investigation of possible antitrust violations by the proposed Trans-Alaska Pipeline System.

3) The oil import quota system cost the public a rock-bottom minimum of \$7.4 billion more in

the six-year period ended in 1970 than in the previous half-dozen years.

4) Between 1957 and 1969 the American petroleum industry increased its exploration expenses almost six times as much in foreign countries as in the United States, although a principal justification for the quotas always has been that they stimulate *domestic* exploration and development. Again, most major news media gave the hearings little prominence.

General Motors, in a sworn deposition filed in court in Philadelphia in 1966, said it knew of only one or two complaints of fumes or odors in the passenger compartments of Chevrolet Corvairs. Actually, the Department of Transportation told the Senate Commerce Committee last Feb. 16, GM at the time had almost 700 such complaints. In plain words, the world's largest industrial corporation was being accused of having lied under oath. The *Washington Post* carried the story on page A-2 after almost putting it on the financial page—which is not read by most Corvair owners. The *New York Times* put the story on page 66, with the ship arrivals and departures.

The first Senate hearings since 1893 on the safety and purity of drinking water were held on March 20, also by Senate Commerce. There the Environmental Protection Agency, under questioning, said that its scientists had made an unprecedented and fearsome discovery: disease viruses had been detected in tap water of two Massachusetts cities, Lawrence and Billerica, even though they had treated river water with modern purification techniques.

The list of underreported and underplayed Congressional stories of importance is almost endless: Sen. Proxmire's hearings on Pentagon waste; Rep. L. H. Fountain's hearings, over more than a decade, on unsafe and ineffective medicines and the regulatory failures of the FDA; Sen. Gaylord Nelson's hearings on medicines that pharmaceutical houses label one way for American doctors and other ways for foreign doctors, and on drugs these companies make here but sell for less abroad than in the United States; several years of hearings by the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee on economic concentration that were overwhelmingly ignored; Sen. Gaylord Nelson's

hearings on corporate secrecy.

Each of these—the auto safety hearings, the thalidomide and other drug hearings, and the rest—were “consumer” stories. But they were also Congressional stories, medical stories, regulatory agency stories, and so forth. Moreover, they were “national” stories that also were “local” stories. Most of all, these stories were first and foremost *news*. In sum, a lot of news that was fit to print never got printed.

There are some partial explanations for this general undercoverage, such as, frequently, a too-heavy load on wire service reporters on Capitol

“An elected staff committee might meet with management . . .”

Hill. But other explanations are less acceptable. One is that the media have contributed to the ascendancy of the Presidency over the supposedly coordinate and equal Legislative Branch by over-covering the one and undercovering the other, partly because it's easier. Does it strike the thoughtful person as sensible or as odd that news media lay out fortunes to fly reporters around the world with Spiro T. Agnew or with Secretary of State William P. Rogers—in each case, it happened, for a batch of “nothing” stories that, possibly to justify the investment in them, often appeared on page 1, while these same media frequently seem to lack reporters with 75 cents cab fare to cover a Congressional hearing on, say, disease viruses in the water supply?

Another explanation of the undercoverage is that some reporters are lazy or prefer more “glamorous” assignments. The vaccine story today? “That's old stuff,” such reporters may tell trusting editors and bureau chiefs—who, thus comforted, seem reluctant to probe further.

A third explanation is the ego problem. You undertake an investigation; you invest time, money, reputation, emotion, and somehow its

value—in your mind and maybe your editor's—begins to transcend the hearing on the Hill that could be much more important. The ego problem is becoming an ever larger obstacle to the proper performance of our function, which is to tell the public as best we can what it needs to know. We simply can't do it ourselves, relying on our own investigations—not in an increasingly technological era, when government is so big and diffuse, and when we often cannot get internal agency papers, or compel testimony, as can Congress.

Yet another explanation is a hangover from happier days when the assumption was that new is better, that change is progress, that science is always beneficent, that we should look ahead but not back. This attitude, too, is costly.

It would scarcely be an enviable task for the chief of any major news operation to have to try to defend in public—say, on *Face the Nation* or *Meet the Press*—omissions in coverage such as those cited, especially if contrasts were drawn with the massive staffing these same operations give to primaries, party conventions, and polling by reporters. But I suspect that calling priorities publicly into question might well yield therapeutic results. I also suspect that some variant of Newtonian physics quickly would come into play, with the consequence that editors would not continue to expose themselves to questioning about their news judgments.

If public accountability isn't viable, and one recognizes the limitations of the journalism reviews and devices such as the editorial-page “News Business” pieces in the *Washington Post*, then the burden is back on internal processes. There has been a good deal of talk about a purported need for reporters to seek “control.” I am not confident that many or most of the media would be durably improved were control to pass from those who have it to those who seek it. We're not going to be helped if we swallow whole such Orwellian formulations as publishers bad, reporters good.

The Peter Principle aside, to involve reporters in the decision-making process is to invite conflict-of-interest problems. What we ought to strive toward in the newsroom is *professionalism*; and the time has come to strive toward it with new mechanisms for self-examination and accountability. A

reliable and systematic process of questioning and auditing of performance—done by professionals in a spirit of truth-seeking—would be invaluable. The *process*, I emphasize, is of primary importance. An elected committee of reporters—with the membership changing on a staggered basis, perhaps—might meet with news management, say, monthly. The committee's function would be to ask questions of its own and questions submitted by the staff—including deskmen—and to elicit answers, not to argue.

One question might be, why is so little attention paid to Congressional hearings of obvious importance? Another might be, why pay a large sum for and give up space to Lyndon Johnson's memoirs? Why don't we do some reporting on Herb Klein's old newspaper to see how fair it is? Why run Joe Alsop? Why don't we send reporters to other countries to write about things such as delivery of health care services that foreigners do better than we do, rather than use up the money to open another foreign bureau? Why do we have a reporter in Central Europe, but not in the Southeast United States? Why is so much attention paid to crime in the streets and so little to "crime in the suites"? What award competitions should we enter, if any? What criteria are used, and by whom, in deciding what work is to be entered? Foreign correspondents have clerical help: why is it in such short supply for reporters who are deluged by mail, phone calls, and the rest?

A stockholder who pays a few dollars to buy just one share of stock is free to confront the management with almost any question he may care to put at the annual meeting, which is open. Is there really anything wild in the idea that staff people who invest more in the enterprise than dollars

should be assured of regular meetings on professional matters with their editors? When we know that, for decades, we paid so little attention so much of the time to so many things that really matter to people: everything from the lack of occupational health and safety responsible for at least 14,500 deaths and 2.5 million disabling injuries a year, to pension plans that cheat millions of people and chain them to a single employer, to dirty restaurants?

A stenographic transcript of reporter-editor question-and-answer sessions should be available to any on the staff who want to see it. A lot of questions that get no attention when asked one-to-one would get serious attention from editors who knew their words were being taken down; some reforms would be set in motion; and useful ideas would be drawn from a huge staff reservoir of brains, imagination, and goodwill which now goes largely untapped. Management would be a winner, too. (I would also admit, however, that a lot of problems would not be solved.)

Walter Lippmann, in a 1965 speech, "On the Profession of Journalism," discussed the "problems of maturity"—the problems that come after we have gotten rid of "the censor and the domination of the advertiser and of financial groups." Journalism, while still "an underdeveloped profession, is experiencing a growing professionalism," he said; and this is "the most radical innovation since the press became free of government control and censorship."

If that "professionalism" is to be rationally defined, protected, and advanced, those reporters, editors, and publishers in a position to do so must begin to reliably and systematically audit their own performance.

Which
section
did you
read?

Olympiad (June 522). Hardly a day goes by that you can't hear an announcer say something like this, "We'll be back at the 20th Olympiad after this message." That's like saying, "We'll be back at the 20th Century after this message." An Olympiad is a period of time, the four years from one Olympics to the next.

Sports section,
New York Times, Sept. 10.

Gathered in the name of peace and sportsmanship, the 20th Olympiad of modern times will disperse tomorrow under the shadow of an act of international terrorism. Once again, Arab guer-

Week in Review,
New York Times, Sept. 10.

The perils of publishing journalism reviews

MARTY COREN

More than a dozen U.S. media monitors exist and the movement is spreading. But neither birth nor maturity comes easily. A status report.

■ Four years ago, shortly after the tumultuous 1968 Democratic Convention, a group of angry Chicago journalists gathered at their favorite drinking place to complain about being turned into liars by their own newspapers' rewriting the history of convention week. As one complaint tumbled over another, someone suggested they do something—picket, meet with the editors, start a journalism review. Being reporters and writers, they picked the natural alternative and started the *Chicago Journalism Review*.

"It was an idea a few of us had been thinking about," said Ron Dorfman, editor of the review. "So four of us got together and we did it."

More and more since 1968, journalists have been getting together for similar purposes. At last count there were at least a dozen journalism reviews: in Baltimore, Chicago, Denver, Holyoke, Mass., Honolulu, Houston, Los Angeles, New

York City, Philadelphia, Providence, San Francisco, St. Louis, and St. Paul/Minneapolis. New reviews also have been discussed in such disparate locations as Albany, N. Y., Buffalo, Washington, D. C., and Anchorage, Alaska. And several reviews have died. They include the *AP Review*, an anonymously published sheet that folded after two issues due to fear of management retribution, and the *Oregon Journalism Review*, an outright casualty of media management pressure [see *PASSING COMMENT*].

For the most part the reviews are small, fledgling efforts of sixteen to twenty-four pages. They vary in quality, structure, and scope [*PASSING COMMENT*, March/April]. But they are remarkably similar in their origin and problems.

The history of the *Houston Journalism Review*, which I became involved with after arriving in Houston last February, is fairly typical. Houston has two daily newspapers (the *Post* and *Chronicle*), six TV channels, and diverse radio outlets. Though these media serve a booming metropolitan area, none could be described as really distinguished. The *Chronicle* hasn't changed much

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since Ben H. Bagdikian, in an article in the *Atlantic* six years ago, labeled it a "continuing and depressing demonstration of how not to operate a free paper in a free society." The *Post* doesn't offer much more, and most local broadcast stations have trouble seeing beyond the latest murder and traffic accident.

The *Chicago Journalism Review* has been a strong motivating factor in most local reviews, including Houston's. In 1969 the Chicago staff held a convention attended by sixty persons from several cities, and early in 1970, Ron Dorfman visited Houston—as he has visited other cities where reviews have spawned—to discuss a local counterpart. The idea lay dormant for two years, until a meeting at a reporter's home to consider a possible Guild election at the *Post*. After the meeting several *Chronicle* and *Post* reporters discussed alternative strategies for improving the media and fastened on the idea of a review.

Like other reviews, ours began with a series of covert meetings, because no one could forecast management's reaction. Our secrecy lasted until interviews began for the initial articles. Unfortunately, this secrecy meant that persons who might have helped weren't involved.

Not every journalism review has to begin in secrecy. In Baltimore, meetings for persons interested in a review were announced on cityroom bulletin boards of the *Sunpapers*. On the other hand, in Atlanta an internal memo circulated to six *Constitution* reporters found its way into management hands and eventually led to the firing of its author. How to proceed can be decided only after careful consideration.

By the second meeting in Houston, more than twenty-five people were interested in participating in the review. Most support came from staff members of the *Post* and *Chronicle* and two radio stations. There also were participants from a TV station and a university journalism school. We made a conscious effort early to seek representatives of all the media, thus avoiding a mistake made by several reviews. The *Philadelphia Journalism Review*, first conceived as an in-house critique of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, has had trouble expanding; and St. Paul journalists started the *TCJR*, the Twin Cities journalism

review, without seeking help from colleagues in their twin city of Minneapolis. "If we had to do it over again, we would work harder in the beginning to involve people from the Minneapolis papers and other media," says Robert Protzman, a St. Paul *Dispatch* reporter who helped found *TCJR*.

After enough committed people are assembled, the major and continuing crisis is money. Of all the local reviews, only Chicago, New York City's (*More*), the *Review of Southern California Journalism* (Los Angeles), the *St. Louis Journalism Review*, and the *Hawaii Journalism Review* are assured of publishing more than the next couple of issues. Houston, Twin Cities, *Buncombe* (Baltimore), Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Denver's *The Unsatisfied Man* can see only one or two issues ahead. *Thorn*, in the Connecticut River Valley, and the *Journalists Newsletter* in Providence are on the ropes, though they both expect to get another issue out somehow.

A few of the reviews have solved or eased their monetary problems by alliances with universities, press clubs, and Sigma Delta Chi chapters. The *Review of Southern California Journalism* has touched all of these sources with some success. *RSCJ*, established to fill the void of media criticism in the Los Angeles area, is affiliated with the Sigma Delta Chi chapter of California State College at Long Beach. The students raise some of the money, and foundation grants, press clubs, and professional chapters of Sigma Delta Chi provide more. In exchange for grants, the review gives free subscriptions. Editor Jim Davis expects subscriptions to become more important later.

Buncombe, the review in Baltimore, is associated with the local branch campus of Antioch College. Staff members managed to produce their first issue without any funds by including it in *The Paper*, a Baltimore weekly. Simultaneous with *Buncombe's* organizing, Edgar Feingold, an adjunct professor at Antioch College, was able to obtain \$1,000 to finance student participation in the review. The student participation never materialized, but Antioch contributed anyway. *Buncombe* incurred an additional expense when it attempted to mail its second issue under Antioch's nonprofit postal permit and Postal officials

refused to accept it. After a delay, the issue got mailed with \$60 worth of 8-cent stamps.

The *Hawaii Journalism Review*, which is distributed free, has been supported by small contributions from individuals and several large donations from Hawaii businesses. The *Review* lists all of the contributions and their sources. The *Review* also has the backup support of the Honolulu press club, which has promised to underwrite five issues if all funds are depleted.

Most money raised comes from small contributions. To get our Houston review off the ground, more than thirty people contributed from \$1 to \$25. In St. Paul, the local Newspaper Guild unit promised \$300 if *TCJR*'s founders could raise \$900; they did it by throwing "one hell of a party" for journalists, politicians, civil rights workers, and others. More than 200 people paid \$3 each to attend, and many also made contributions or

"Newspapers have ample means of retribution . . ."

subscribed—raising \$1,000. *TCJR*, now is thinking of another fund-raiser, with the subscription charge included in the head tax. The *San Francisco Bay Area Journalism Review* has sponsored a rock concert and a picnic—but, says review editor Dexter Waugh, the events were insufficiently organized and "\$300 was the most we ever raised."

Not all requests to the Guild have proceeded as well as that in St. Paul. Supporters of *The Unsatisfied Man*, for example, packed the Denver Newspaper Guild with enough people to elect their own board of directors. The board then unanimously approved a grant for *TUM*. But the action so angered many members that a referendum was held and the grant was withdrawn, with *TUM* gaining nothing more than the ill will that accrues from a messy fight.

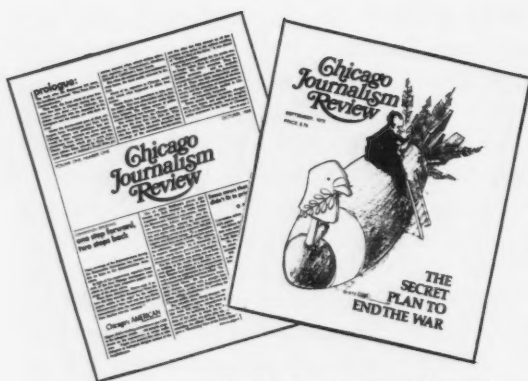
The *Chicago Journalism Review* obtained \$1,

400 from two contributors before publishing, and in its best fund-raising year has received \$20,000 in grants—many in the form of loans not expected to be repaid. This procedure was followed because a two-year struggle with the Internal Revenue Service was required to get a federal tax exemption, even with the help of established law firms in Chicago and Washington.

Both the *Chicago Journalism Review* and (*More*) have received money from the Fund for Investigative Journalism, a Washington-based foundation which makes grants to writers with investigative book or article ideas and an assured publisher. [See *PASSING COMMENT*, Sept./Oct.] Supporting journalism reviews is a new activity to which the Fund plans to allocate \$15,000 in the next few months, but no guidelines have been established for disbursements, beyond general considerations such as the quality of the review, the need in its geographical area, and the appeal of proposed articles. According to Julius Duscha, director of the Washington Journalism Center and the Fund board member who will supervise the grants, the reviews that present "fair journalism" will be given preference.

Previous grants from the Fund have gone to individuals for expenses incurred in the writing of specific articles. James Boyd, Fund director, is now discussing with attorneys whether money can be disbursed directly to a journalism review. In any event, he says, a review should be a nonprofit body to be eligible for any foundation's funds.

Most reviews have indicated their intention of applying for nonprofit status if they have not done so. The major exception is (*More*) in New York. According to publisher William Woodward 3d, (*More*) is established as a profit-making corporation not because it expects to make money but because it believes this fosters independence. "Two of the three biggest reviews (Chicago and the *Columbia Journalism Review*) have some type of tax shelter," Woodward says. "Under the shelter of the Government you lose the ability to say a lot of things. The university shelter is a disaster—too academic. A review should be a Ralph Nader type vehicle, slamming it to the press." Woodward says that if (*More*) should ever turn a profit it would be reinvested in the review, but he



The first local review (Chicago)—
charter issue (left) and recent one.

doesn't expect this to happen. "We hope to get close enough to the break-even point so that we can pick up enough support to continue. We may have to run for a tax shelter, too," he said.

Most reviews' survival depends on subscriptions. The *Philadelphia Journalism Review* needs 1,500 annually to be self-supporting; it has about 1,000. The *Houston Journalism Review* needs about fifty new subscriptions with each issue to publish the next. The *Chicago Journalism Review*, which has a circulation of about 6,000, needs 12,000.

Most reviews send out free copies in the hope of obtaining subscriptions. Lawyers, politicians, advertising and PR men, contractors, and builders have been among prime targets. Almost every review reports that half of its subscribers come from out of state—among them, other journalism reviews, journalism schools, and libraries.

Chicago has been very successful with newsstand sales, with the cover cartoons by Bill Mauldin a key factor. (*More*) has had trouble getting a newsstand distributor. In Berkeley, when the first issue of the *San Francisco Bay Area Review* featured a cover drawing of a policeman, news vendors declined to handle it. In Connecticut, several newsstands refused *Thorn* because it criticizes newspapers—the newsstands' principal means of support.

In general, the smaller reviews suffer from a lack of business experience. I became the business manager and treasurer of *HJR* without ever taking a business or accounting course and without any

previous business experience. Fortunately, I had plentiful free advice. I also didn't have a lot of money to spend. Chicago review staff members, by going to an expensive typesetter and printer, mailing everything first class, and in general "not knowing what we were doing," managed to spend \$1,700 on the first issue, says associate publisher Bob Kamman. "It should have cost about \$200."

Most of the reviews spend far less. The first issue of the *Houston Journalism Review* cost \$280, including mailing. Later editions cost more than \$400 before mailing. Twin Cities staff members spent \$250 on their first issue and more than \$500 on each of the next two. Philadelphia, which produced an eight-page first issue for \$60 now spends \$450 per issue. The first issues are cheaper because they are smaller, fewer copies are printed, and volunteers do the typesetting free on borrowed equipment. Unfortunately, it is the typesetting that doubles the cost of later issues. Because most reviews utilize an offset format, staff members can save significant sums by doing their own layouts, pasteups, and addressing.

Until six months ago, Bob Kamman reports, the Chicago review, because of lax management, spent twice as much money as it should have. "For example," he says, "no one knew about withholding tax. We ran up penalties of \$2,000 a year because we didn't know we had to file forms." *CJR*, of course, had more money to lose than the other reviews. Its budget for 1972 is expected to be \$22,000 less than the \$65,000 spent in 1970, without cutting back on product.

The issue of accepting advertising is yet to be resolved by several reviews. Review circulations are usually too low to attract many advertisers. Another concern is credibility. In Houston we refrained from an exchange advertisement with the *Texas Observer* to avoid being identified with its political viewpoint. Journalism reviews that do take advertising say that they are aware of possible credibility questions and are not intimidated. In San Francisco, one editor, Dexter Waugh, says there is "some feeling" that advertising might be a conflict but "the function it serves is more important."

Editorial structure, like production, varies with

continued on page 41

Sampling local reviews: In this special section *CJR* presents another of its periodic digests of material from a growing family of local journalism reviews. Written from the viewpoint of working reporters, the reviews now are published regularly in fourteen U.S. cities. For subscription information, see this supplement's back page.

The New Press Critics

NO. 3

SUPPLEMENT TO COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER, 1972

Hijacking

Right Questions Asked?

While the rest of the Bay Area media swarmed over San Francisco International Airport building stories sensationalizing last month's bloody hijacking attempt, KQED's Marsha Brandwynne was quietly at work trying to figure out how the two Bulgarian refugees got on the PSA plane in the first place. "Why didn't they fit the skyjacker identification profile? Why weren't metal detectors being used by PSA?" she asked. Instead of playing up the FBI's dangerous "cure" (one passenger was killed in the shootout) Brandwynne took a tough, much needed look at the airlines' flimsy "prevention".

In addition to overkill in covering skyjackings, the *Chronicle* exploits them by running "Extra" banners across the front page to suck in a few extra bucks. The *Chronicle* hasn't put out a genuine extra edition in years.

—San Francisco Bay Area Journalism Review, August, 1972

What Happens When A Chain Owner Arrives

DENBY FAWCETT

Hawaii Journalism Review

The Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* is on a diet. No more the bulging fat newspaper of a year ago. In its place is a lean new version that's been carved out by the *Bulletin's* new owners, the Gannett Group, the largest newspaper chain in America.

As one editor explained: "It's an unhappy coincidence. The *Star-Bulletin* stopped making money at the same time it got new owners . . . and the new owners are very profit-conscious."

A *Bulletin* reporter was more dramatic: "There's a steamroller coming through and some of us just happen to be standing in the way."

Admittedly, the dock strike and the general downturn of the Hawaii economy might have forced any prudent business to layoff and cutback. But the real question here is how far will Gannett go and how much will the editorial quality of the paper suffer in the process.

Here's a rundown of what has been eliminated since Gannett took over:

Both Gardiner Jones, former director of Pacific News Service, and *Star-Bulletin* Washington correspondent Malcolm Barr have been fired.

Columns and features have been slashed at an astounding rate.

Sports: Carl Machado's bowling

column, Jack Wyatt's "Nautical Notes," Gil Budar's column on motor sports, Ron Haworth's surfing column, Mel Durslag's column, Maver cartoons, and Arnold Palmer's syndicated golfing column, "The Palmer Method."

Family: "Features and News, Inc.," a feature package edited by Colleen Dishon, and "The Gossip Column" by Robin Adams Sloan.

Food: The James Beard column.

Business: Elliott Janeway's economic column.

Editorial Page: Russ and Peg Apple's "Hawaiian Heritage" column has been discontinued on a daily basis, but it still runs on Saturday. Also eliminated were a number of syndicated columns and line drawings.

Comics: "Snuffy Smith" and "On
(Continued on page 30)

What happens when a chain owner arrives . . .

(Continued from page 29)

Stage" have been held out of the paper to see if there is enough public reaction. If nobody protests, both will be discontinued.

News Services: Gannett canceled the *Bulletin's* subscription to Copley News Service.

Gannett has also, for all practical purposes, eliminated the *Star-Bulletin's* "green streak" final edition. The "green streak" on the stands now is a fake. It's simply the second home-delivery edition with a green streak down its side and no updated stories. This means the reporters' daily deadline is now 12:15 p.m. Before the Gannett takeover, new information could be printed up until 1:30 p.m., more than an hour later.

Star-Bulletin executive editor Herbert Duncan said the former final edition was eliminated because on most days it was just a typographical exercise in makeover. Duncan said: "When there is news of a significant nature, we have the capability of shutting down the presses and re-planting for the last few thousand copies as we did before."

Gannett bought the *Bulletin* last November by trading former *Bulletin* principals 619,000 shares of Gannett stock then worth approximately \$34 million. As part of the deal, Gannett got majority control (55 per cent) of the Hawaii Newspaper Agency, the company that prints and handles business for both the *Bulletin* and the *Honolulu Advertiser*.

So Gannett-enforced cutbacks are not just limited to the *Bulletin*. There's also been some slashing in the H.N.A.

Thirty printers have lost their "situation" jobs. This means their full-time work with benefits. Most of these men are now working on a day-to-day basis. And printers say there is no overtime for anyone. Three engravers have been laid off.

Downstairs in the business offices, retail advertising is short three salesmen. One was fired, one quit, and one is on longtime workman's compensation. No replacements are in sight. In classified sales, four employees have departed and it doesn't look as if they'll be replaced.

With all these cutbacks and changes, it's amusing to look back to the before-Gannett-period.

Rumors of the *Star-Bulletin* sale

were in the air four years ago. But *Bulletin* president Alexander Atherton quelled them at a company banquet to honor Dick Pollak, saying, "the *Star-Bulletin* will be sold over my dead body." Atherton is alive.

The *Bulletin* was sold not only to the very outsiders he used to disdain but to the fat-cat of newspaper publishing in America (at last count, Gannett had fifty-three papers).

It's hard to fault Atherton and his gang. It was a whale of a financial deal. The former *Star-Bulletin* principals "cleaned up," as they say in the streets. The stock Gannett signed over to them is now worth about \$48 million, representing a paper profit of some \$14 million in just six months.

Atherton explained his change of heart over selling the *Bulletin* in an interview last August. "Well, the climate for such a merger is so much better right now and we got to know the Gannett people over a period of time. They're an excellent chain and offer first-rate management."

Atherton went on to say he did not think things would change with Gannett. "Gannett people are noted for maintaining a hands-off policy with respect to the papers they acquire. They know what our editorial policy is and agree with it. They will carry on without rocking the boat whatsoever."

Jack Scott, Gannett's man in Hawaii and the new *Star-Bulletin* publisher, reiterates this "hands off" policy. Scott told the *Hawaii Journalism Review*:

"Gannett has no plans for the *Bulletin*, no plan except to continue to keep it a great newspaper. That's all. There's no master plan involving change or anything like that."

Asked about the changes since the takeover, Scott said: "It's very simple economics. Business in Hawaii for the last year has been going steadily downward and it's been reflected in the newspaper lines. Any modifications have been due to economic conditions."

But there is, of course, more at play here than just the economic situation in Hawaii. Scott is an emissary of Gannett and under his leadership the *Bulletin* must perform in a way that stands up favorably with other Gannett possessions. Scott brought this out at a meeting with *Bulletin* employees last month. It all

came about when *Bulletin* reporters began to get visibly nervous about the cutback situation. Scott attempted to cool them off by inviting the staff to a series of coffee hours in the *Bulletin* boardroom.

He told one gathering that the *Bulletin* had been given a performance rating in the Gannett system. Scott said of Gannett's newspapers in thirty-two cities, Honolulu is fourth from the bottom in performance. The reporters were intrigued and pressed him further. Scott explained that fourth from the bottom means twenty-eighth in the list of thirty-two cities when revenues of the last year are compared to those of the current year. Scott still insisted there was great local autonomy.

For the record, those papers below Honolulu on the Gannett rating list are in Utica, Elmira, and Niagara Falls, N. Y.

Scott told the *Bulletin* gathering that in spite of this performance rating, "I'm really not under pressure. I am responsible for improving performance."

All that can be hoped for here is that Scott is courageous and will stand up for a good product instead of weeping at Gannett's feet because the *Bulletin's* "performance" is not getting a rave review from corporation critics.

The newspaper situation in Hawaii is unusual. Even though the Islands are part of the jet age, in many ways we are as isolated here as people were a century ago. If the *Star-Bulletin* is hacked up in an effort to make a good performance showing for Gannett, there's one less of the available two places for the newspaper reader to turn for his news.

In other Mainland cities, if the town daily is slaughtered readers can turn to the nationals such as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, or the *Los Angeles Times* for their daily newspaper nutrition. In Honolulu this is not practical. It's just too expensive.

Scott and his Gannett Group have a moral obligation to realize that Hawaii is different from Utica and Elmira, N. Y., and should be treated with special tenderness. There is no justification for corporate greed here. The damage suffered by readers could be overwhelming.

—May, 1972

Don't just lie there dept.

Page 18 Thursday, March 22, 1972 The 1972 Colorado Springs, Colo.

It's Easter Time!

Obituaries

WILLIAM D. 1907
Passed away at home
at 10:30 p.m. March 21,
1972. Burial in
Forest Hill Cemetery.
Funeral service at
11 a.m. March 23 at
Forest Hill Cemetery.

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Forest Hill Cemetery.

Obituary page,
Colorado Springs
Sun, March 29.

—The Unsatisfied
Man, April, 1972.

Promises, Promises

Newscasts ↓ Commercials ↑

DUANE LINDSTROM
Chicago Journalism Review

Every three years, all radio and television stations must apply to the Federal Communications Commission for renewal of their licenses if they want to remain in business. At that time they must provide evidence that it is in the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" for them to continue operating. If a broadcaster fails to do so, according to the Communications Act, he is ineligible for renewal and the FCC can turn his license over to another more qualified applicant.

In theory, license renewal time is an opportunity for a careful evaluation of each station's past and potential service to the public. It's the time when the FCC checks each station's log for an average week to see whether or not the station lived up to its past promises regarding news, public service, educational and religious programming, and advertising time.

But in practice, licenses are almost always renewed whether the applicants have lived up to their promises or not, whether they have violated FCC standards or not. Chicago's broadcast licenses next come up for renewal in December, 1973. For a hint of things to come, researchers from Citizens for a Better Environment and Northwestern University's Urban Studies Center recently analyzed the promises and performances of Chicago's thirty-three commercial radio and TV stations as reported in their own license renewal applications from December, 1967, and December, 1970. The researcher's

findings suggest that the only way a broadcaster can be denied a license renewal is if he drops his pants on the air in prime time every night for three years.

By the stations' own admission, the researchers found that in the period between 1967 and 1970:

—Nine stations did not comply with their promised quotas of news time—promises which were the basis for the approval of their 1967 licenses. All had their licenses renewed in 1970.

—Ten stations failed to provide their promised allotments of public affairs programming. All were renewed in 1970.

—Fifteen stations did not meet their minimal promises in the FCC's "other" category, which includes instructional, educational, and religious programming. Their minimal promises, by the way, amounted to about 2 per cent of their air time. All were renewed in 1970.

Thus thirty-four violations went not only unheeded by the FCC but were

considered sufficiently commendable to warrant automatic license renewal. The FCC held no hearings, issued no warnings, gave no reprimands, and denied no licenses.

FCC renewals chief Richard J. Shiben maintains that all license renewal applications are thoroughly reviewed. "If there are any substantial violations," he told *CJR*, "we take action." He contended the Chicago broadcasters' violations had not been "substantial" and thus their licenses had been renewed. Has the FCC ever found "substantial violations" in the 2,500 renewal applications it processes each year? "None that I can recall," Shiben replied.

If the FCC is reluctant to hold stations too strictly to their promises, that may be understandable, since the FCC has no standards for judging the worth of the promises in the first place. It has no minimum time standards for news, public service, and educational-religious programming, so there is no way for a station to know how much it should promise. But the study of 1967 and 1970 renewal applications indicated that the stations are promising little indeed and delivering less.

Between 1964 and 1970, Chicago AM radio stations reported that as a group they devoted 18.8 per cent of their time to news, 3.4 per cent to public affairs, and 5.6 per cent to religious-educational. FM stations gave 12.4 per cent to news, 2.4 per cent to public affairs, and 3.5 per cent to religious-educational. TV stations gave 8.2 per cent to news, 4.1 per cent to public affairs, and 9.4 per cent to religious-educational.

Meager as these offerings may be, both the promises and the performances of Chicago stations in these areas have declined with each succeeding renewal. Comparing the period 1964-1967 with 1967-1970, the

(Continued on page 32)

Newscasts . . .

(Continued from page 31)

researchers found that Chicago news programming for all TV, AM, and FM stations declined by 29 per cent, public affairs by 6 per cent, and educational-religious by 18 per cent. At that rate there will be no news broadcast in Chicago after 1979, educational-religious programming will die out in the 1990s, and public affairs broadcasting shortly thereafter.

The FCC may have no minimum standards for news, public affairs, and educational programming, but it does have maximum standards for advertising time: It allows TV 16 minutes and radio 18 minutes of commercials in any hour. The renewal applications reveal that Chicago broadcasters violate these standards, too, and get away with it.

During the average week for the license period ending in 1967, five stations were in violation of the FCC commercial time rules as well as those of the National Association of Broadcasters and of the stations themselves. These five stations, on the average, violated the maximum advertising rules more than one out of every ten hours they were on the air. Yet the license of each violator was automatically renewed.

During the following license period, the number of stations illegally broadcasting excess advertising rose to eight, and the number of violations in an average week more than tripled, so that the guilty stations were exceeding FCC limits one-third of the time they were on the air. The FCC, apparently imbued with the Christian tradition of turning the other cheek, again automatically approved the licenses of all eight violators.

(One of the violators, WCFL-AM, is the object of a petition to deny license renewal filed in 1970 by the Illinois Citizens Committee for Broadcasting and others. The petition is still pending before the FCC.)

When Shiben of the FCC was asked about the stations that had violated standards regarding commercial time, he denied that the FCC had any policy regarding commercial time practices. Later, however, he admitted the existence of commercial limits but repeated that the violation of such limits would have to be "substantial" before the FCC would take any action.

If there remained any doubts about whose side the FCC is on when the public and broadcasters square off

against each other, a case in Washington earlier this year erased them. The black community there challenged the license renewal of WMAL-TV, claiming the station's programming ignored local blacks in favor of suburban whites. The FCC renewed the license anyway, and when the challengers appealed, the courts held the action to be within the FCC's discretionary authority. *Broadcasting* magazine, mouthpiece for the industry, hailed the decision with what it called "an enormous sense of relief." The broadcasters, plainly, know they're in good hands with the FCC.

Most Chicago stations contacted by *CJR* were hard put to recall any action the FCC had taken regarding their violations. "We take steps to correct any such violations, with or without FCC action," said James Simon, vice president of WBBM-AM. "They're all just mistakes." When re-

minded that WBBM's own logs revealed an average of fifteen commercial time violations a week—more than any other Chicago station—Simon replied, "It's not uncommon to slip."

But the FCC does get tough against violators now and then. "Certainly they take action," says Art Roberts, program director of WCFL-AM. "They write and tell you what they found in your logs. Then you have to promise them you won't do it again."

—October, 1972

Duane Lindstrom, a member of *CJR's* editorial board, is research director of Citizens for a Better Environment. He was formerly executive director of Illinois Citizens Committee for Broadcasting. Research for his article was done by Jack Pollack and Elaine Weiss, students at Northwestern University.

Stories We've Read Before

Journalists Newsletter

Everyone loves a parade. Merrill Bailey's favorite is the one that goes round and round the block at the Providence *Journal* building. He's seen it so often that he's memorized all the marching units and describes some of them in what he calls the EB Categories:

Office Pool

"Some people out in East Over-shoe are making book on the time this guy's wife will have her baby. Sounds like a good feature. We can even follow up with a feature on the sweepstakes winner when the kid finally is born."

One-in-a-Million

"Supporters for a new downtown Providence Civic Center, in one of a continuing series of daily press conferences, asserted today that there is less than one chance in a million that the Goodyear Blimp will crash into the building and wipe out the enormous investment involved."

Thirty Years Ago

"The sun was shining brightly on famous Waikiki Beach that December Day when Jap Zeros rained death from the east out of a rising sun."

Time for Her Hobby Now

"Phyllis Jones won't be at her fifth-floor desk behind the file cabinet tomorrow, a dingy corner she has graced for the last 57 years. Phyllis, a vital cog in the city governmental machine, is hanging up her dictaphone". . .

Dalmatian

"They're passing cigars around the brass pole at Engine 18 ('Everready') tonight. Sadie, the ever-ready fire-house mascot, just gave birth to eighteen pups. Mother and children are doing fine, but Sadie was a little tired for an interview."

Man-in-the-Street

"Hey, did you see where they found Constantine's Church? Why don't you go out on the Mall and get some reaction to that? Talk to some hippies, some bankers, some shop-girls, you know, a cross-section."

—February, 1972

Baltimore Firing

City Magazine or House Organ?

NEAL FRIEDMAN

Buncombe

In 1964, William Stump was asked to take over the editorship of *Baltimore* magazine, the monthly publication of the Chamber of Commerce. It was then a dreary procession of dull pictures of businessmen who looked to be only a little less bored than the people who read the magazine.

Stump's charge was to turn the publication into a lively reflection of what Baltimore really was—and is. In his first year, Stump was able to revitalize the magazine and won a prize from the American Association of Commerce Publications. *Baltimore* has continued to win prizes every year since then. It is considered to be the best magazine of its type in the country.

Circulation tripled to 9,000 in the years since Stump took over, and a survey the magazine had done showed that 30,000 persons read each copy. Advertising revenues, in a declining economy, are, according to Stump, "good and getting better."

Over the last two years, *Baltimore* has become even livelier. A cab driver peered out from the cover one month. Inside, the cabbie talked about aspects of Baltimore the chamber does not like to even think about. Stripper Blaze Starr was the cover subject another month and appeared, mostly uncovered, on the inside. There was a very thorough piece on the financial problems of Johns Hopkins University, a critical assessment of the new city of Columbia, and articles on homosexuals and the Black Panthers in Baltimore.

The effort to paint a livelier picture of Baltimore, to show the city as it really is, cost Bill Stump his job Feb. 9. The man who sacked Stump was Herbert G. Bailey, Jr., executive director of the chamber. Bailey said there was a difference between the chamber's philosophy and Stump's and he offered the discharged editor a quotation: "Whose bread I eat, his song I sing."

The reaction surprised Stump and probably the chamber, too. There were several prominently displayed newspaper articles and editorials critical of the action. The firing was done by Bailey in consultation with the chamber president, Curt H. G.

Heinfelden, and the immediate past president, Robert Tate.

Members of the chamber's magazine committee were not consulted, and Mark Collins, the chairman, was very upset. Collins, who is publisher of the *News American*, said he would have argued against firing Stump. "I was frankly quite surprised," he said. "I thought there was an understanding that editorial policies would reflect a true picture of what Baltimore was and, not necessarily what any individual would want painted. The board of directors will have to do some soul-searching on the direction it wants the magazine to take."

The Stump firing brings up the question of whether a city magazine ought to be published by a Chamber of Commerce. In a lot of cities it is. But in some cities, the chamber magazine has broken away and gone on its own. *Philadelphia* is the best example of this. The magazine sells 40,000 copies a month and is exceeded in newsstand sales only by *TV Guide* and *Playboy*. It has done some outstanding investigative reporting, exposing a crooked reporter on the *Philadelphia Inquirer* staff and a scandal in the Pearl S. Buck Foundation. It has also appealed to a spectrum of Philadelphians. In the same issue it got Mayor Frank Rizzo to agree to pose for a foolish picture. Then the staff took its publisher to task for accepting appointment to one of Rizzo's commissions.

Stump says the only way to have a successful city magazine is for it to be completely independent. "If this [the firing] happens to us," he says, "it can happen to others." The problem, of course, is money. *Baltimore* magazine has an annual budget of \$175,000. The chamber provides a \$25,000 subsidy and Stump says it has been very hard to break even. The printing bill alone runs to \$75,000 a year and continues to

spiral along with all the other costs of publishing which have driven bigger and better magazines out of business.

There have been sporadic attempts at establishing city magazines in Baltimore in recent years and none has been successful. Stump says it would take about \$300,000 to do it now. He would spend about \$70,000 to promote a new venture and would strive to create a magazine like *Philadelphia* which "excites the imagination and gets readers. Whether you could get that in Baltimore," Stump says, "I don't know. You could find out only by doing it."

Publisher Mark Collins agrees with Stump's cost estimates on starting a new city magazine. He cites the success of independent city magazines in Washington and Philadelphia. But, he adds, "I wouldn't invest in one here."

There has been no rush to start an independent city magazine in Baltimore and, given the string of recent failures, there is not likely to be one. So, the question now is what is to become of *Baltimore* magazine under the aegis of the Chamber of Commerce. James Waesche has been moved up from associate editor to run the magazine. None of the staff has quit in protest. Stump says Waesche asked for and got assurances "they won't bother him." He adds, "I hope it's true." Stump says Waesche will probably be a little uptight for a while, but has confidence in his ability to run the magazine. Bailey, in a statement published in the March issue of *Baltimore*, pledged there would be no retreat, that the magazine would maintain its high standards. Stump and Collins agree that the magazine has suffered from a lack of aggressive advertising and editorial promotion and that has hampered it from making it big.

The fact that there has been no staff upheaval at *Baltimore* is encouraging for the future of the magazine. What new directions, if any, it will take are yet to be seen. But, there are those who fear that whatever *Baltimore* magazine is to be in the future will be a function of the willingness of the Chamber of Commerce to let Baltimoreans and others see this city as it really is, rather than as some would want it seen.

—March, 1972

NEAL FRIEDMAN is a reporter for WBAL-TV and a columnist for "Baltimore" magazine.

Second-Guessing the Black Press

RUDY WILLIAMS

The Unsatisfied Man

Black-oriented newspapers in Denver should be like a tributary, feeding the minority communities and other interested races and ethnic groups a diet of objective and authoritative news about minorities. They should be the "Minority Voice of the Rocky Mountain Empire." But, unfortunately, they are failing in this task.

Perhaps their failing is due to the inability to obtain qualified black journalists because of insufficient funds or a lack of black journalistic talent in Denver. However, it seems that the talent that is available is used to publicize the social activities of friends and acquaintances—and themselves. One issue of a local black newspaper carried five pictures of the managing editor. This is not unusual. It happens in practically every issue.

A newspaper editor and the staff should remain behind the scenes as much as possible; black newspapers should not be used as a catalyst in increasing the popularity of the staff! This is insulting to the readers' intelligence.

Equally insulting are "ax-grinding editorials" prominently placed on the front page as a hard news story. What are they saying? The readers are so dense that they cannot distinguish an editorial from a news story?

"It's the responsibility of the black newspaper publishers and editors to educate the community as to what is and what is not news—the difference between an editorial and a news story," says George Lane, a Denver Post staff writer, who happens to be black.

Lane pointed out that "there is a great need for black newspapers. But the two papers we have now, the Denver *Drum* and the Denver News Weekly, don't satisfy the needs of the black community. However, they are better than anything we've had previously," he emphasized.

He believes that black newspapers in Denver are started by people who recognize the needs for such publications, but do not possess any journalistic background. "I think one of the major problems is the advertising dollar," Lane continued. "They are unable to get enough advertising to

hire a fully qualified staff . . . they just can't pay the salaries."

James Alexander of KMGH-TV (Channel 7) says, "Black publications should address themselves to hard core issues concerning the black community. They should address themselves to the fundamental interests of the groups they are trying to reach. They should foster community involvement."

Alexander believes that black newspapers should do more investigative reporting. "They should monitor government," he says. He maintains that black newspapers should explain what such issues as the water bond, the Olympics, abolition of the death penalty, and other current events mean to the black person. "These issues affect the black man, too," he noted. "Black newspapers have a responsibility to educate the citizenry about such things. Of course, the church is important . . . social news is important . . . but issues are the things that affect the black man's wallet, and he wants to know where his money is going. I think the black publications in Denver have failed to do this."

Alexander also stated that there are 51,000 blacks in Denver, yet only a select few are repeatedly publicized—mainly on what they are doing socially. Whatever happened to the black hospital administrators, TV-personalities, civil rights fighters, and other blacks who are making daily contributions to the community?

If a member of the black community does something to anger one of the publishers or editors, this is front-page news. The offender is castigated at the expense of the black population. "I don't think that black publications should be used to 'cut up' other blacks," Lane emphasized.

Lane and Alexander both agree that the feature and human interest story is another forgotten thing in

black newspapers in Denver. "Things that happen in the community are important, like 'who won the pinochle tournament' . . . 'achievements of youngsters.' And other things involving human interest should be covered," Alexander says. Alexander also stated that black publications are compelled to depend upon the white dollar for survival, but "they still must print the truth. If they are afraid to do this, then they should not be in business," he stressed.

"It seems that they never use a style guide," says Clarence Freeman, director of public relations for Model Cities. "And," he added, "someone must proofread the copy after it has been set . . . there are just too many misspelled words." However, Freeman believes that the papers "are performing a service, but they need qualified writers who are concerned about the product they produce."

When asked if she thought the black newspapers in Denver are doing the job they should be, Mary Taylor, a photographer for Channel 7, emphatically stated: "No!" She said that "it's a monetary thing. They want an ad, but don't really work to get the news. There is no news of any value. Most of what they print is social and church activities."

There are a lot of black syndicated columnists whose material is just thrown away. The black newspapers could make good use of this material.

The consensus is that there is just too much of "trying to focus on 'so-called' black society . . . on fancy 'nothing balls' and church news," says Lane.

One of the newspapers, the *Drum*, is taking a step in the right direction. They sent the managing editor to the Democratic Convention.

—August, 1972

S/Sgt. Rudy Williams was a reporter with a black newspaper in Denver. He is currently information officer and editor of the "Stethoscope" at the Army's Fitzsimons General Hospital.

'Happy Talk'

All the Non-News Fit to Air

JOANNE SHORE
Philadelphia Journalism Review

Good evening, this is Larry Kane for Action News. The Philippines were wiped out by a tidal wave this morning and a Manayunk man was killed along with 337 other passengers aboard a 747 Jumbo Jet that crashed into the Empire State Building. But the big story on Action News tonight is in North Philadelphia where a seventeen-year-old girl won a \$2,000 lottery.

Every girl dreams of winning a lottery or marrying a prince. Pretty Jane Schwartz didn't marry a prince but her other dream came true when her ticket came in. Asked how she felt, she said she felt like a queen.

Queens of a different sort were also in the news. A South Philadelphia gang, "The Queen Mothers," declared war on the police force and Mayor Rizzo. In a press luncheon held at Palumbo's, Rizzo said, "Who gives a damn about those mothers?"

The sanitation workers in Camden also have mothers and the sons of those mothers were on strike today. Just as well because pollution experts declared this afternoon that garbage disposal has turned the Delaware River into a floating garbage dump.

Also afloat today was the body of Judge Crater, found in Schuylkill River near the art museum. As you probably remember, the judge disappeared almost half a century ago. This newest clue in the judge's mysterious disappearance surfaced at 5 p.m. and was discovered by University of Pennsylvania crew team coach Ted Nash.

In California, the trial of black beauty Angela Davis has climaxed in a jury verdict. . . . Also in Califor-

This is a recording reporting . . . reporting . . . reporting . . . re . . .

Phone manager offers holiday calling tips

The annual telephone stampede to wish mom "Happy Mother's Day" by long distance will keep company operators and equipment working at full strength Sunday.

C. J. Kreuter, Mountain Bell manager for Salado said, "If past experience is any indication, our operators and equipment will be working at full capacity this weekend."

He said over 1,075 operators would be working in Colorado over the Mother's Day weekend to complete several thousand calls.

Kreuter noted that this year "dad" will be helping "mom" with the calls, because calls this year could very possibly be placed through one of the company's male operators.

Reuter offered the following calling tips to telephone customers:

— Don't wait until the last minute to call. Most people wait until Mother's Day evening to place their calls.

Kreuter said this results in delays for many of them. The successful callers are usually those who place their calls early in the day on Saturday to avoid the busy evening period.

— If your call doesn't go through the first time, hang up and try it a few minutes later.

— Call at times other than on the hour or half-hour, when calling peaks are the highest.

Telephone customers wishing Directory Assistance for any number in the country may obtain their numbers by dialing 1 plus the area code of the distant city and the digits 165-1212. For users wishing to call someone in Colorado, the Directory Assistance number is 1 plus 303-1212.

And Kreuter reminded telephone customers in Salado that even though direct distance dialing (DDD) is not yet available here, that users still receive the low DDD rates.

Salado Mountain Bell
May 12, page 1

The (Craig) Daily Press
May 12, page 8

Loveland Reporter-Herald
May 12, page 5

Phone Stampede Set for Mom

The annual telephone stampede to wish mom "Happy Mother's Day" by long distance will keep company operators and equipment working at full strength Sunday.

Leo D. Marshall, Mountain Bell manager for Loveland, said, "If past experience is any indication, our operators and equipment will be working at full capacity this weekend."

He said more than 1,075 operators would be working in Colorado over the Mother's Day weekend to complete thousands of calls.

Marshall noted that this year "dad" will be helping "mom" with calls, because calls this year could very possibly be placed through one of the company's male operators.

Marshall offered the following calling tips to telephone customers:

Dial direct and take advantage of high speed switching equipment which automatically selects alternate routes for DDD calls when more direct ones are busy.

Don't wait until the last minute to call. Most people wait until Mother's Day evening to place their calls. Marshall said this results in delays for many of them. The successful callers are usually those who place their calls early in the day on Saturday to avoid the busy evening period.

If your call doesn't go through the first time, hang up and try a few minutes later.

Call at times other than on the hour or half-hour, when calling peaks are the highest.

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Mother's Day calls to swamp phone co.

The annual telephone stampede to wish mom "Happy Mother's Day" by long distance will keep company operators and equipment working at full strength Sunday.

K. D. Falis, Mountain Bell manager for Trinidad said, "If past experience is any indication, our operators and equipment will be working at full capacity this weekend."

He said over 1,075 operators would be working in Colorado over the Mother's Day weekend to complete several thousand calls.

Falis noted that this year "dad" will be helping "mom" with the calls, because calls this year could very possibly be placed through one of the company's male operators.

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Falis said this results in delays for many of them. The successful callers are usually those who place their calls early in the day on Saturday to avoid the busy evening period.

If your call doesn't go through the first time, hang up and try a few minutes later.

Call at times other than on the hour or half-hour, when calling peaks are the highest.

Telephone customers wishing Directory Assistance for any number in the country may obtain their numbers by dialing 1 plus the area code of the distant city and the digits 165-1212. For users wishing to call someone in Colorado, the Directory Assistance number is 1 plus 303-1212.

Trinidad Chronicle-News
May 12, page 8

How To Get Mom Quicker By Phone

The annual telephone stampede to wish mom "Happy Mother's Day" by long distance will keep company operators and equipment working at full strength Sunday.

George Bell, Mountain Bell district manager for Greeley said, "If past experience is any indication, our operators and equipment will be working at full capacity this weekend."

He said over 1,075 operators would be working in Colorado over the Mother's Day weekend to complete thousands of calls.

Bell noted that this year "dad" will be helping "mom" with the calls, because calls this year could very possibly be placed through one of the company's male operators.

Bell offered the following calling tips to telephone customers:

— Don't wait until the last minute to call. Most people wait until Mother's Day evening to place their calls.

Bell said this results in delays for many of them. The successful callers are usually those who place their calls early in the day on Saturday to avoid the busy evening period.

If your call doesn't go through the first time, hang up and try a few minutes later.

Call at times other than on the hour or half-hour, when calling peaks are the highest.

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Greeley Tribune
May 12, page 15

The Unsatisfied Man, June, 1972.

nia, famed silent screen star Theda Bara died at the age of ninety-three. A remnant of a bygone era, Miss Bara thrilled many as the "Vamp," who once said Hollywood was in her blood.

To end on a happy note, in one of the shortest trials in American legal history, Xaviera Hollander, whose best-selling autobiography *The Happy Hooker*, increased her net earnings considerably, was being

tried for alleged tax evasion. The case was dismissed, however, even before the prosecution could present its case, after a private conference between the judge and Miss Hollander. As this reporter might say, "Right on."

The Dick Cavett show is next. This is Larry Kane for Action News. Thanks for being with us.

—May, 1972

Richie Allen, Meet the Los Angeles Double Standard

Review of Southern California Journalism

The Los Angeles *Times* at the pinnacle of impartiality in sports? Surely the man who wrote that never compared *Times* stories about George Allen's abilities before and after his departure from the Rams. Or never looked in vain for an explanation of the season-long silence between Dodgers Charlie Neal and Maury Wills, back when they formed one of the hottest double-play combinations in the league.

Or, to take a more recent and blatant example, never wondered about the strange 180-degree shift in what the *Times* this season told the public about Richie Allen.

Prior to his being traded to the Dodgers last year, Richie Allen was considered a malcontent, a morale problem, a troublemaker. His nickname around the league was the "bad boy of baseball."

This season, however, according to the *Times*, all that had changed. In fact, the public transformation of Allen started the day after he was traded to the Dodgers.

Times columnist Charles Maher wrote:

Actually, the Dodgers thinking about Allen changed because Richie himself seemed to have changed after moving to St. Louis.

A St. Louis newspaperman wrote this week that Richie got to be somewhat of a morale problem for the Cardinals. He said Richie was reporting late at times to the park and generally doing as he pleased. But Cardinal general manager Bing Devine disputed the story.

The hard sell continued in a Nov. 11, 1970, *Times* account of a press conference by Allen. In what must have stunned *Times* readers who had formed an opinion about Richie Allen based on stories in the *Times* before his trade to the Dodgers, Allen revealed:

He is ready to play wherever the Dodgers want him to play.

He intends to give Walter Alston "100 per cent co-operation and 120 per cent on the field." Added Allen: "If I don't do that I expect to be jerked

out of there fast."

With Alston on his left and Al Campanis on his right, Allen was alternately thoughtful and charming.

The periodic buildup continued. A March 25, 1971, story reported:

Allen enjoys immense popularity with his new teammates and his injury comes at a time when he seems to be approaching the offensive form that prompted the Dodgers to trade for him.

Richie Allen is the man around whom the Dodgers are building the 1971 season.

On April 22:

Rich Allen laughed a laugh that was seldom heard when the lettering on his uniform read "Philadelphia" and "St. Louis." Against the Padres, the Real Rich Allen stood up.

About midseason, both the Dodgers and the Angels were trailing far behind the first-place positions *Times* readers had been led to expect of the clubs. An explanation was clearly in order.

The Angels, too, had a "problem player," Alex Johnson. Unlike the Dodger management, however, the Angels clearly wanted to publicize its problems with Johnson. The *Times* accommodated. In the Dodger account, however, the *Times* informed its readers that although Allen was not producing at the rate expected of him, it was not for lack of effort on his part. All of that changed after Allen's recent trade to the White Sox.

AFTER THE TRADE, the *Times* had some rather startling news for its readers. *Times* reporter Ross New-

han, who covered the Dodgers the first part of the season, wrote:

On a warm night at Dodger Stadium last July, with the Dodgers a discouraging ten games behind the Giants, President Peter O'Malley confided: "I've made up my mind that Allen will have to be traded. He's been an unsettling influence on the club."

While Allen led the Dodgers with ninety RBI and twenty-three homers, his idiosyncrasies forced manager Walter Alston for the first time to adopt two sets of rules . . . one for twenty-four players and one for Allen. . . .

Dodger officials went out of their way to avoid public criticism of Allen, but were known to be annoyed by Allen's practice of arriving at the ballpark for games at 6:30 p.m. while the rest of the team was required to report at 5 p.m.

Impartial reporting, indeed! How does one account for it?

Says Newhan: "We (the *Times*) were aware of the problems and of the two sets of rules, one for the club and one for Richie Allen. Alston did not make a fuss about Allen, and the other players did not complain about Allen's behavior off the field. The Dodger players don't talk about other players to the press.

"To have reported Allen was a morale problem would have met with denials by the Dodger management and the players. They are like a family.

"When Peter O'Malley said Allen was a problem player and would be traded, the team was ten games behind the Giants. I felt to say anything about Allen then would have been unfair to him and would have given the appearance he was the reason the Dodgers were not doing well. When they started winning it didn't seem important."

Let's assume the same set of standards for other *Times* reporters. Problems within the Nixon Administration, let us say, would not be reported unless Nixon "made a fuss" about it or unless others in the Administration complained about it to the press. Or, heaven forbid, the stories would face a denial.

No wonder Richard Nixon is a sports fan. He must lie awake nights pondering the possibilities.

—February, 1972

Words, Not Deeds

Why So Few Chicano and Black Newsmen in Houston?

LINDA AMBROSE, AMY CHAPMAN, THOMAS WRIGHT

Houston Journalism Review

The statistics speak for themselves. Uninspired efforts of the Houston media to hire and retain blacks and chicanos have generally failed.

To us, the problem is one of commitment—an unwavering pledge to employ minorities in positions of responsibility.

Most local managers say they are in favor of hiring minorities. But after that comes a string of watery excuses: There are no qualified applicants. Those with journalistic abilities sound bad on the air. There is no money for training.

These rationalizations betray either the naïveté of the people who make them or the emptiness of pompous promises.

To begin with, there is no large pool of experienced minority newsmen. That means if a newspaper or a broadcasting station really wants to have blacks and chicanos reporting, editing or airing the news, then that news medium is going to have to seek out minorities with potential

and train them. The attitude expressed by Bill Bosse of KULF that "it's costly and there's little or no contribution from a trainee," typifies this shortsightedness.

KULF, whether it is profitable or not, is one of the highest-paying radio news operations in the city. Certainly, if KULF is serious about its commitment to hire minorities, a training program could be started at considerably less than the cost of one of its fulltime newsmen. The trainee could do outside reporting, perhaps overnight news, as well as routine carting and phone work. There are many functions inexperienced blacks or chicanos could perform—if a station will let them.

Look at the handful of stations that have done more. Question the people there. Ask Ray Miller at KPRC-TV how he has been able to have a daily black newscaster. Ask Channel 13 how it has been able to find not only black but also Mexican-American reporters. Ask Randy Covington at KAUM-FM how he managed to train three interns this summer with a \$100-a-week budget for them.

Broadcasters' EEOC reports are public information. The policies of the FCC are clear. Challenges from black and chicano organizations are becoming more numerous. There is no question that broadcasting is making progress, although that progress is not always voluntary. The main question is how long the laggards will be allowed to hide behind their shallow excuses.

The print media are a different story. The EEOC reports are guarded like Fort Knox. There is no FCC or license to challenge.

The *Post* and *Chronicle* both have minority trainees. But we feel that before either paper is able to attract qualified minorities or keep very many of those it trains, it is going to have to make some fundamental changes in news judgments.

The white editors of both papers seem oblivious to the fact that they are serving a city that is more than

a third black and Mexican-American. That editors would even question whether to use a story like the Senfronia Thompson-Old Capitol Club episode [see *HJR* No. 3] shows how totally white their news judgments are. That controversy was of great interest to almost every black in Houston, not only because Thompson is a representative-elect, but also because of the social justice implications.

The lack of real commitment in covering minority news is most obvious in the papers' beat system. Both the *Post* and *Chronicle* have federal court reporters, state court reporters, police department reporters, HISD reporters, etc. Yet blacks and Mexican-Americans don't rate a fulltime reporter. It's pretty hard for a black or chicano newsmen who is committed to serving his community as well as his paper to work for a paper that doesn't think the problems and concerns of his community are news unless those problems and concerns have evolved to violence.

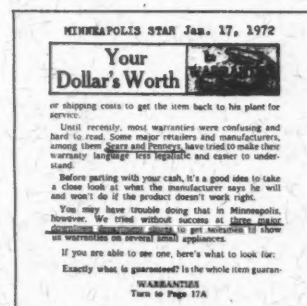
In the long run, America's racial problems can only be solved through understanding. The news media are as important as any other single way of promoting that understanding. And as long as the media shirk that responsibility, our racial differences will continue to fester.

We reject the excuses for the infinitesimal number of blacks and chicanos actively involved in newsgathering in Houston. We feel the time is long past due for decadent, phony commitments to end and sincere commitments, manifested by positive action, to begin.

—September, 1972

Feather to the *Houston Chronicle* for recently declining to staff a local televised news conference with Vice President Spiro Agnew because wire services were excluded. The *Chronicle* believed that wire services were kept out because they might ask harder questions; the paper reasoned that it might be excluded next time. It stayed away and couldn't ask hard questions itself, but instead watched the event on TV and went ahead and reported Agnew's response to other reporters' easy ones.

—*Houston Journalism Review*,
June, 1972



When the *Star* had something good to say about two big advertisers it mentioned them by name, but when the story was adverse, names were omitted.

—*Twin Cities Journalism Review*
February, 1972

On Being Somebody

Never Insult a Newspaper

St. Louis Journalism Review

Sometimes journalists have a choice on what to do with information they know should be presented, but don't like. They can omit it, with a risk of being caught, or slant it. Such was the case of a recent sports symposium at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* went the omission route, although it published an opening day story based on a telephone interview.

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* sports-writer, Bill Beck, slanted his stories and tried to discredit sports critic Jack Scott of Berkeley, Calif. His report tended to prove some truth in what Scott had to say, at least about sportswriters.

Scott noted that racial problems on the football Cardinals were first reported not by the St. Louis news media, but by *Sports Illustrated*. He said the *Post* and *Globe* were "house" newspapers, catering to management of the sports clubs. Scott charged that the Cardinals, if they don't have sportswriters on the payroll, at least "keeps them in steaks."

Scott heads the Institute for the Study of Sports and Society. The points he made at the symposium, Beck said, were impossible to refute: that blacks and women are discriminated against in sports; that athletes use drugs; that college presidents don't control their athletic programs; that too much emphasis is placed on winning and that pro team owners are greedy and exploit their players.

Instead of concentrating more on these areas the three *Post* articles reflected one thing primarily—the writer was disgusted by Scott's viewpoint and thought it necessary to present what he thought was unfavorable information in connection with his ap-

pearance. "His statements were too broad and all-inclusive," said Bill Beck, broadly and inclusively, without giving examples.

Another observation: "Scott loosed a vitriolic and possibly irresponsible attack on the press." Scott was reported to have a "mindless hatred for all things sports." And Scott's remarks "smacked of a reverse sort of McCarthyism."

The *Post* writer suggested that Scott's true motivation might be "the \$1,500 paid from student funds for his appearance at UMSL." Scott was further criticized because "he knew where he planned to take the discussions," and the other participants "were fed to Scott as so much fodder."

All of which tends to show it is better to have a slanted story than no story at all. After side-stepping the garbage thrown in by the biased writer, the reader just might find some nuggets—quotes from the principals involved. These are harder to distort.

Readers of the *Globe* might never have known Scott was in town. Readers of the *Post* saw Scott painted as some sort of irresponsible character. But some may have read through the hatchet job to deduce the man has something to say.

—June, 1972

Counting Dailies In Daleytown

DAN ROTTENBERG

Chicago Journalism Review

About a year ago I spoke to a civic group about what I called the "unconscious racism" of conventional media. The trouble with our television stations and downtown newspapers, I said, is that virtually all of the executives and reporters are white and live in neighborhoods along the lake or in the suburbs, so that even with the best of intentions journalists are likely to overlook news of importance to blacks.

When I had finished my talk one listener asked why *CJR* had written at great length about the four downtown papers' endorsements of Mayor Daley but had failed even to mention that the black *Daily Defender* had also endorsed Mayor Daley. Like a good guilt-ridden white liberal I replied: "I guess we at *CJR* are also guilty of the sort of thing I've just been talking about." Lillian Calhoun raised the same point in her June *CJR* column when she said, "In Chicago, few think or talk in terms of Chicago's five dailies."

But the more I think about it, the more I regret having surrendered on the point that we should think in terms of "Chicago's five dailies" instead of four, and that the *Defender* should be considered the fifth. Blacks who criticize whites for overlooking the *Defender* are themselves overlooking many other daily newspapers published in Chicago. If we are to include the *Defender*, why not also include the *Daily Law Bulletin*, the *Daily Racing Form*, the *Daily Calumet* on the far South Side, the *Daily Zgoda* (Polish), the *Abendpost* (Ger-

man), *Denni Hlasat'* (Czech and Bohemian), *Prosveta* (Slovenian), the *China Times* (Chinese) and three-count 'em—three Lithuanian daily newspapers? How about the Midwest edition of the *Wall Street Journal*, which sells 400,000 copies daily (ten times the circulation of the *Defender*)? Or the Midwest edition of the *Christian Science Monitor*?

There are, in fact, eighteen daily newspapers published in Chicago, and if people tend to speak of "Chicago's four dailies" that is because only four of them even pretend to cover all segments of the metropolitan area. The *Defender* and Chicago's thirteen other dailies have never pretended to be anything but specialized publications aimed at special audiences. So let us refer either to Chicago's four dailies or to Chicago's eighteen dailies, but not to any figure in between—at least until the *Defender* begins to provide stock market tables, news of Cicero neighbors, and golf scores from the Old Elm Country Club.

—July, 1972

Victim of Pressure

Oregon: Requiem for a Review

DAN BERNSTEIN
Oregon Journalism Review

"Because the human spirit is most creative when it is free, it needs to be out from under oppression. Any person who prefers the tight restrictions of thought control is a person with at least a mild neurosis."

The time is Jan. 13, 1972. The place: editorial page, Salem *Capital Journal*. The subject: the usurpation of human rights in the Soviet Union.

The only thing that's missing is an asterisk followed by a little friendly advice: The American "human spirit" may be free in relative terms, but don't push too hard because you'd be surprised how many neurotics there are right in your own backyard.

It's not uncommon for the *Capital Journal* or any other newspaper to indulge in this kind of mind-soothing Afghanistanism. Mental masturbation allows the editorial-managerial hierarchy to prove to all who doubt that, indeed, "we have no sacred cows." But one of the disappointing properties of human nature is that one's tolerance of the free spirit decreases in direct proportion to the degree that one feels threatened by it.

So when a crusading Soviet writer is expelled from his country for criticizing his government, the cry goes out from newspapers across the land: "Why can't the Big Parent let up on the reins? Why are writers' manuscripts seized, authors confined to mental hospitals as punishment? Why hasn't the Soviet Union developed a great writer who doesn't dissent from stultifying controls of materialists?" (same editorial)

But when a reporter dares to criticize his/her own newspaper, a different—neurotic—sort of outrage ensues.

The *Oregonian's* Bill Keller was told that his next piece in the *Journalism Review* would be tantamount to a written notice of his resignation. I was simply told that articles about the *Capital Journal* could result in my occupational fatality unless couched

in a bland, soggy academic context.

The irony of the *Review's* infant death is that the five-month-old critique had yet to make it big. Why, then, were the editorial neurotics so anxious to inflict thought control?

For one thing, it seemed likely that Keller was on the verge of persuading a handful of *Oregonian* writers to contribute to the *Review*. It was the fear of reprisal and not the lack of subject matter which prevented many of them from writing at the outset. When Keller received his ultimatum—the *Oregonian* management couldn't let this thing get out of hand—the critics got the message.

The *Capital Journal* had no such inkling of imminent conversion. The only other reporters who contributed to the *Review* have left the state. Indeed, the entire Willamette Valley from Salem to Eugene has been embarrassingly silent.

The managing editor of the paper gave me a new set of publishing guidelines because he implied that he was getting pressure from management. Some of the pressure stemmed from an article in the June review about the *CJ's* anti-liquor policy; and perhaps more pressure resulted from the managing editor's own coverage and picture of a topless bait girl in Newport. (Even the free spirit of a managing editor must sometimes be contained.)

The real tragedy of the *Journalism Review* is not that it is dead, but that it will not be remembered. Journalists, broadcasters, and academicians who have devoted their careers to the media in Oregon have demonstrated a decided reluctance to criticize the profession in a straightforward, informative, and constructive manner.

Why Oregon reporters and broadcasters and journalism professors shied away from the *Journalism Review* cannot be simply explained. Surely fear enters into it—there is quasi-legal precedent that favors the feeder over the biter.

But, sadly, the reaction to the *Oregon Journalism Review* was not "we would if we could." Instead, Oregon journalism was judged healthy, things were fine—if anything was wrong, few seemed to care.

Can there ever be a successful journalism review in Oregon?

Ours certainly wasn't the first attempt. Others, in Albuquerque, Providence, New York, Denver, San Francisco, and elsewhere planted the seeds for our attempt, and despite financial problems and itinerant management, they seem to be doing well.

These reviews have managed to establish their credibility by achieving longevity. Many people read what they have to say, and while the reviews' supporters don't embrace every article, there is an overriding commitment to provide a forum for media criticism.

The *Oregonian* management is not the first to take issue with the concept and contents of a review (although it may well be the first to label it "competition"). Management's intransigence has been dealt with elsewhere—mostly by refraining from writing about one's own paper.

Neither the hierarchy of the news world nor the public at large can be persuaded of the necessity of a journalism review until working newspeople recognize the necessity themselves.

When this will happen, no one can tell. But complacency and apathy erode the quality of journalism far more than the scurrilous criticism that detractors attribute to reviews. Even at its worst, criticism makes you think.

—September, 1972

Should Police Define 'Legitimate' Media?

Review of Southern California Journalism

The Los Angeles professional chapter of Sigma Delta Chi's Freedom of Information Committee has decided to write a new municipal code that will make it possible for all legitimate print and broadcast reporters to have press passes in Los Angeles. The code would include college newspapers and broadcasting stations.

Ben Cunningham, chairman of the Los Angeles SDX-FOI Committee, said his committee spent several months last year in meetings with Chief of Police Ed Davis' staff trying to work out an arrangement to accommodate the student press. "All we got was the usual Chief Davis runaround. Davis' stock reply is that the student newspapers and broadcasting stations do not regularly print police and fire stories so they are not

entitled to have a press pass according to his understanding of Section 52.16 of the Los Angeles Code."

Cunningham said his committee then approached city councilman Arthur Snyder, who is chairman of the LA Police, Fire, and Civil Defense Committee, to get his help to persuade Davis to change his attitude on the press passes. Cunningham said he received a letter from Snyder that said, "I have explored this matter with the Department and with a number of Councilmen, as well as with some representative newsmen on regular assignment, and frankly find no encouragement for an effort to expand the issuance of press passes to college newspapers."

Cunningham said his committee is now busy drafting a new section of the municipal code to replace Section 52.16. "The new code will specifically state that college newspapers and broadcasting stations are legitimate news operations and should be given press passes. But we're not stopping there," he added. "Many of us on the committee feel that Art Kunkin's Los Angeles Free Press is a legitimate news operation and should not be denied a press pass by Chief Davis. We intend to write a section for the municipal code that will permit all legitimate newsmen the right to have a Los Angeles Police Department press pass. Cunningham said he had just learned that Sam Kushner, a reporter for the *People's World*, had been denied an LAPD press pass.

"Davis used the same old excuse against Kushner that he used against Kunkin and the college press. Either we get a new section of the code that prevents Davis from using his power indiscriminately to curb freedom of the press in Los Angeles, or we're going to have to set up our own press-pass committee to accredit our own people.

"Frankly," he added, "I think the LA media people are undermining press freedom in this area by allowing Chief Davis to determine who is accredited as a legitimate newsmen and who isn't."

A final note on (*More's*) counter convention in New York [see *CJR*, May, 1972]. Lucian K. Truscott IV, writing in the *Village Voice* April 27, said blacks and women were "conspicuous in their absence" on the panels. Then he quotes (*More's*) publisher William Woodward when asked about having representatives of only one black newspaper: "We didn't get as many blacks on as we probably should have. The *Amsterdam News*? Gee . . . I guess we didn't think of the *Amsterdam News*." The *Amsterdam* is Harlem's leading weekly and has been for decades. Mr. Woodward's statement figures—in Chicago, few think or talk in terms of Chicago's five dailies. How did James Baldwin once define racism—"Nobody Knows My Name."?

—*Chicago Journalism Review*,
June, 1972

Journalism Review Subscription Details

Buncombe: A Review of Baltimore Journalism
Box 861, Baltimore, Md. 21203;
bimonthly; one year, \$3.

Chicago Journalism Review
192 N. Clark St.,
Chicago, Ill. 60601;
monthly; one year, \$7.

Countermedia: Alaska Journalism Review and Supplement
Box 2299, Fairbanks, Alaska; ten
issues annually; one year, \$15.

Hawaii Journalism Review
Box 5299, Honolulu, Hawaii 96814;
monthly; contributions only, no
subscription fee.

Houston Journalism Review
Box 52691, Houston, Tex. 77052;
monthly; one year, \$7.50.

Journalists Newsletter
Box 1174, Postal Annex,
Providence, R.I. 02903;
semiannually; one year, \$5.

(More): A Journalism Review
Box 2971, Grand Central Station,
New York, N.Y. 10017; monthly;
one year, \$7.50.

Philadelphia Journalism Review
1001 Chestnut St., Room 915,
Philadelphia, Pa. 19107; monthly;
one year, \$5.

Review of Southern California Journalism
6101 E. Seventh St., Long Beach,
Calif. 90840; quarterly; one year,
\$2.50.

St. Louis Journalism Review
Box 3086, St. Louis, Mo. 63130;
bimonthly; one-year, \$5.

San Francisco Bay Area Journalism Review
Box 3451, Rincon Annex,
San Francisco, Calif. 94119;
monthly; one year, \$6.

The Unsatisfied Man: Review of Colorado Journalism
Box 18470, Denver, Colo. 80218;
monthly; one year, \$6.

Thorn: Connecticut Valley Media Review
Box 1040, Holyoke, Mass. 01040;
issued periodically; one year, \$5.

Twin Cities Journalism Review
Box 17113, St. Paul, Minn. 55117;
bimonthly; one year, \$3.

—February, 1972

each review. Chicago has two fulltime paid staff members and one parttime. They meet with their editorial board once a month. *TUM* in Denver started with a permanent managing editor but wore him out in three months. *TUM* then tried to rotate the editorship but had trouble because broadcasting employees are unfamiliar with the print side of journalism. Finally *TUM* settled for a permanent combined production and copy editor and another editor to assign stories and procure copy. Houston devised a rotating system of three editors: after each issue one editor retires; his or her successor is nominated by the three editors subject to approval of the "group." In Philadelphia, the group does not select editors but allocates responsibility for various jobs to whoever will do the work.

Most reviews' mastheads identify editors and participants. But this leads to problems when media managements blame any employees so listed for critical stories about them. Early in the history of the *Chicago Journalism Review*, after several articles critical of the *Daily News* the paper threatened to demote reporter Henry De Zutter, who then was serving as *Review* editor, unless DeZutter resigned from the *CJR* board. The threat galvanized 250 Chicago editorial employees to sign statements that they were editors of the next issue. In subsequent issues, to diffuse responsibility, *CJR* expanded its editorial board and listed members in alphabetical order.

At the same time, reviews have not shied from identifying many contributors with bylines. Most reviews insist on bylined articles to enhance credibility. The major exception is the *St. Louis Journalism Review*, which offers the option of a byline. "We are a relatively small city and people felt their employment would be in jeopardy," says Ted Gest, a member of the editorial board. The penchant for secrecy subjected early issues of the *St. Louis* review to justifiable criticism that management's side of stories was lacking. To avoid that, there now is a policy that management must be given an opportunity to comment. That blew the secrecy—a problem resolved by another policy that writers not write about their own employers.

As often as not, management's side in *St. Louis* has been "no comment."

Not all the reviews have been able to maintain a policy of not writing about one's employer, even if they want to. "We have such a small staff that the person who works at a place often has to write the article," says *TUM* editor Cary Stiff. "We are not hesitating to write about our employers," says Robert Protzman of *TCJR*. In Houston, the informal policy has been against writing about one's employers, but this has been breached. Most reviews that allow this acknowledge that the writer is risking antagonizing his boss and his fellow employees.

This already has proved to be the case in several cities, including Houston. Of five city staff reporters of the *Houston Chronicle* listed on the masthead of the first *HJR*, one has been fired, two have been forced to resign, and a fourth has given notice. It is difficult to determine who has been fired due to review activities and who has merely been a normal part of the paper's abnormally heavy turnover. The journalism review had little to do with my departure; the same is true of the reporter who has given notice. The other reporter who resigned, however, had been shifted from a day general assignment post to the dead-end night shift immediately after he wrote a critical *HJR* piece about the city editor.

Another reporter, Al Reinert, whom city editor Zarko Franks has called a "highly intelligent young man and a good reporter," was fired because of his "attitude." No one has defined to Reinert what this means, but Franks is quoted in *HJR* as saying "you don't bite the hand that feeds you, you don't foul your own nest." The general feeling on the *Chronicle* staff is that Reinert was fired for two incidents. The first was writing a lengthy *HJR* piece on coverage of the campaign for lieutenant governor of Texas, which featured a runoff between *Houston Post* Executive Editor William P. Hobby and John Connally's younger brother Wayne. Reinert's report antagonized *Chronicle* editor Everett Collier, a strong backer of Connally. (In my six months on the *Houston Chronicle*, the only time I ever spoke to Collier he talked of the Connally campaign as a "we" operation; the only story I did there con-



Three of the newest reviews—in Baltimore, Houston, and San Francisco.

cerning Connally had to be shown to Collier before it went to the city desk.)

Reinert again angered Collier when he pressed to get a story into the paper about two blacks being barred from the Old Capitol Club after they had been invited for drinks by a club member. One of the blacks is a woman state representative-elect who was in the company of several white elected officials. All of them left the club. Reinert, who witnessed the incident, spent the next day trying to get the *Chronicle* to run the story. The *Chronicle* did not carry a story until two days later—after other local media already had reported the incident. This was detailed in the next issue of the journalism review, with the point that Collier is a member and Franks a frequent visitor to the Old Capitol Club.

In Philadelphia, of the seven members of the original *PJR* board of directors, only one person remains in the same position he had before the review began. Two of the board members have been fired, two demoted, one person quit the *Inquirer* under pressure, and one person resigned from the *PJR* board. As with the *Chronicle*, not all these cases can be attributed to journalism review activity. In the case of Donald Drake,

however, the connection is direct. Drake, thirty-seven, has won several science writing awards and has been nominated for a Pulitzer Prize three times by the *Inquirer*. In the February issue of *PJR* he criticized media coverage of the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Philadelphia this year, lamenting that the media—including his own paper and himself—had given the violent activities of a few radical hecklers more prominent play than the substantive issues of the convention. Such coverage, he said, prostituted the role of the press, meaning that he himself had been a “whore for the press.” Subsequently, Drake was told by *Inquirer* Executive Editor John McMullan, the paper could not have a whore covering an important beat like science; Drake was demoted to general assignments under supervision of the city editor.

In Atlanta in 1970, reporter Mike Bowler of the *Constitution* circulated a memo to six colleagues calling for establishment of a journalism review in Atlanta. In the text he enumerated reasons for his dissatisfaction with Atlanta journalism, including a sentence stating that the *Constitution* would not touch Rich's Department Store “with a million-pica pole.” Two weeks later Bowler was fired, purportedly not for suggesting a review but for gross insubordination in suggesting the paper would sell out to an advertiser.

Bowler, a member of the *Constitution's* newsroom union, took the case to arbitration, and twenty-two months later received what he calls a “good news—bad news decision.” The good news was an order that he be reinstated with back pay, and the arbitrator's comment that “Mr. Bowler had a right to circulate that memorandum to his fellow employees.” The bad news was an additional comment of the arbitrator, Hugo L. Black Jr.: “Let me say at the outset that, if Bowler had been discharged for writing and publishing to outsiders the material of his included in the *Atlanta Journalism Review* subsequent to his discharge, I would have sustained the discharge summarily.” The material referred to as the *Atlanta Journalism Review* appeared as an insert in the *Columbia Journalism Review* [July/Aug., 1971], which was prepared with Bowler's assist-

ance after he was fired by the *Constitution*.

Although Black's comments on Bowler's case may not apply to other areas, the remarks scarcely can help the cause of journalism reviews. The interpretation of "loyalty" still seems to be in the hands of the employers. Unfortunately, it is the less progressive employers like the *Chronicle* that are most conservative in their definitions.

Even without resorting to firings and demotions, newspapers have ample means of retribution. A reporter can be passed over for a good assignment or for promotion. "I know when certain key jobs come up, I'm going to be overlooked," says Robert Protzman of St. Paul. Other reviews' staff members concur, though they emphasize it is difficult to put the onus entirely upon participation in a media review. Members of the reviews often are involved in Guild activities or employee committees and generally are younger and more outspoken than others. Protzman believes the *Dispatch* reporters who helped organize *TCJR* "were already branded." Participation in a review, however, does intensify the difficulties.

Much depends upon the individual employer. The *Houston Post* has remained calm about its employees working for *HJR*, even to the point of promoting one of the most active participants. Los Angeles *Times* editor William Thomas told *RSCJ* editor Jim Davis that he does not object to *Times* staff members writing for the review. Other media executives have like views.

Fairness and accuracy also afford a great deal of protection. "We're approaching the review very straight," says Protzman of the Twin Cities effort. "We're trying to be righteous, moralistic, clear, and pure." "In order for a journalism review to go, you can't be another leftist sheet," adds Lewis Z. Koch of the *Chicago Journalism Review*.

As a review comes out issue after issue with fairness, accuracy, and increasing toughness, it gains a reputation and credibility that all but the most recalcitrant managements acknowledge. "Abe

Rosenthal of the *New York Times* wouldn't talk to us for four months," said (*More*) publisher Woodward of the *Times*' managing editor. "Now he is the guy who picks up the phone." The same reaction has been reported by several of the other reviews, especially the larger ones.

In spite of the risks, the hard work, the money problems, journalism reviews across the country continue to multiply, and their sponsors think they are worth the effort. None can claim an accomplishment as striking as the *Chicago Journalism Review*'s coverage of the events following the killing of two Black Panther leaders in 1969, but each makes some claim to having improved its area's journalism. Protzman thinks *TCJR* has helped reduce the number of morbid and clichéd survivor stories that inevitably follow any disaster. St. Louis review members think they pushed local papers away from entirely ignoring the news contributions of their competitors. The editor of the *Review of Southern California Journalism* believes an article on restaurant criticism is leading to some improvement. The *Hawaii Journalism Review* may have been the force that pushed Honolulu papers into properly labeling advertisements that resemble editorial material. And so on.

Equally important are various intangible effects. Merely by their existence, the reviews provide a forum for reporters who previously had none. By pointing up organizational deficiencies traceable to some publishers' policies, they strengthen the bargaining power of editors who want to persuade the publishers to change. Also, they are a sign of growing professionalism—a willingness to confront shortcomings in media performance and credibility. As Donald Drake of Philadelphia says, "The reviews keep a dialogue going on matters of philosophy and ethics that tend to be lost in day-to-day operations. In the long run, this may be more important than the small gains such as stopping the papers from identifying blacks in crime stories."

**Which
paper
did you
read?**

80,000-seat Olympic Stadium, but officials said rain forced a cancellation, even though there was no rain during those hours.

—AP, in Cleveland
Plain Dealer, Sept. 11.

Olympic officials were saved from the embarrassment of a ceremony boycott by the American basketball team when a deluge washed out the medal presentation

—UPI, in Cleveland
Press, Sept. 11.

The Newspaper Guild's identity crisis

What is the proper role of a journalists' union? Can it adequately serve newsmen when they are a membership minority? A growing debate.

HAYNES JOHNSON

■ Newspaper myths die hard. Perhaps the most enduring, and most misleading, deals with that lovable, irreverent, cynical-but-romantic breed—the reporters. They are, we have been told since the days of Ben Hecht and Charlie MacArthur, no man's man. Not a Kiwanian, Rotarian, or Chamber of Commerce type in the bunch. They are fiercely independent.

Nonsense. Newspaper people collectively are as much a group of joiners as any other element of society. In Washington we have the White House Correspondents Assn., the State Department Correspondents Assn., the Overseas Writers, the various press clubs, the Gridiron Club, and assorted others. Other cities have similar private clubs and associations for active newspapermen and women, for city hall reporters, for political writers, for retired journalists, for those with more than twenty-five years' service, to say nothing of the national journalistic fraternal organizations, Greek letters and all. If a

reporter graduates into management he can join the American Society of Newspaper Editors or even, if he is elevated high enough, to the rarefied and stultifying atmosphere of the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. (Sinclair Lewis, where are you now when we need you?) But the biggest of all journalistic organizations, as well as the most powerful and controversial, is the Newspaper Guild.

The Guild is now approaching its fortieth birthday. In its ranks are 33,598 members scattered across the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico. Fewer than half of these are journalists—reporters, editors, or news department employees. The majority of members are in the commercial departments—advertising, accounting, personnel, promotion, purchasing, circulation. They are clerks, stenographers, secretaries, messengers, drivers, telephone operators, receptionists, advertising salesmen, composing room assistants, keypunch operators, data processing machine operators.

In its makeup and split personality, there is probably not another union like it. During a long study on the American labor movement earlier this year, I remember the president of one of

Haynes Johnson is a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter for the Washington Post and author of several books, the latest of which is *The Unions*.

the largest trade unions warning me not to make the common mistake of generalizing about the unions. Then he said, "Look at your own newspaper union." Events since then have made his words seem all the more accurate.

The Newspaper Guild is a union sharply divided, even schizophrenic at times, between its meat-and-potatoes role for all and the special professional philosophy that first created it for what now is a minority of its membership. In the glory days of the early Thirties, the Guild was created as the reporters' union. It is still thought of that way. And therein lies the principal problem—a problem not of bread-and-butter issues but of professional principles.

Like all institutions that become established powers, the Guild likes to recall its birth pains. A fine romantic aura surrounds those early struggles and the memory of the man who inspired them: Heywood Broun. What Broun would think about the conflicts between professional principles, personal needs, and internal politics within the union he created no one can say. No Guild leader I know brings up that unpleasant subject.

I have been a member of the Guild only since 1957, but I grew up in an atmosphere of appreciation for what the Guild has accomplished for newspapermen and women. My father, Malcolm Johnson of the New York *Sun*, was one of a handful of newspapermen who first met in Broun's New York apartment to argue the pros and cons of a newspaper union. He became the first and only member of the *Sun*'s unit of the Guild—an action that led to a move to fire him for his "communistic" leanings. I have heard too many times of the stories of newspaper publisher largesse in those Depression days, days when reporters were lucky to make \$45 a week and were being summarily laid off without any benefits; days when a then rich, powerful, and distinguished paper like Dana's old *Sun* was giving its employees a handsomely printed copy of the *Sun*'s famous editorial, "Yes, Virginia, There Is a Santa Claus," for Christmas—along with cuts in their paychecks.

Any account of the Guild has to acknowledge what it has done to elevate the financial security and respect of those men and women who labor

for their papers. The Guild was organized on Dec. 15, 1933, when delegates from twenty cities, with proxies from some twenty more, convened in Washington and pledged to form a union of editorial department employees "to preserve the vocational interests of its members and to improve the conditions under which they work by collective bargaining, and to raise the standards of journalism." By 1949, when the Guild had a membership of 23,000 and contracts with 173 daily newspapers, plus agreements covering wires services, newsmagazines, weeklies, radio stations, and other news organizations, the average top minimum of reporters covered in its contracts was \$86.84 a week. In 1959, the top reporter minimum was \$124.15; in 1969, it was \$176.14; and since then it has risen another \$60.

Wire service reporter minimums—formerly the leaders in the field—now are \$270 a week, and major newspapers' Guild salaries are even higher: The top reporter-photographer minimum at the New York *Times* is \$361.67 after two years' experience, and last fall the Washington *Post* signed a Guild contract for an annual top minimum of nearly \$21,000 after four years' experience. The *Post*, like some other papers, has profit-sharing provisions, pension arrangements, health benefits, agreements for newspaper sabbaticals, day-care centers, and the standard severance pay formula of two weeks' salary for every year worked, with a maximum of thirty-two payments.

Other aspects, however, are not so comforting. In recent years the Guild has become involved in a number of incidents that strike at the basic principles that I, and many other working journalists, believe are essential to our role: our impartiality, our fairness, our very credibility with the public. In the process, the lines between the two major factions in the Guild—the commercial and the editorial sides—have sharpened.

To me, as to many reporters, the first sign that the Guild was operating in a manner that could be regarded as detrimental to journalistic ethics came with the 1967 revelation that since 1961 it had accepted nearly \$1 million in Central Intelligence Agency subsidies for a broad international program. The CIA money was provided to Charles A. Perlik, Jr., then the union's secretary-

treasurer and now its international president, and deposited in a special "International Affairs Fund." At the peak of this covert financing, the Guild was spending \$300,000 a year overseas, all from foundations tied to the CIA.

The Guild's action severely damaged the reputation and independence of every journalist working abroad. Every foreign correspondent became suspect. Who could say whether he was a bona-fide journalist or an agent?

Perlik took the position that the public disclosure had hampered the program. He had no doubt, he said, that these revelations would make "our ability to function [abroad] useless." He contended he was "unfamiliar" with the background of any of the foundations the Guild had been dealing with for six years, and maintained he didn't know CIA funds were involved. "It was not a question that I ever asked," he said. "It never concerned us. All I know is that I was never asked to do anything."

In subsequent interviews, Perlik attempted to explain further: "When you're handed money on a platter, it's very hard to say, 'where are you getting this?'" In the aftermath of the public furor, the Guild shut down its offices in Rio de Janeiro, and Panama, and its support of Latin American newspaper unions ceased. Perlik found this situation deeply disturbing. "It's tragic," he said two years later, "that we were unable to continue. We had found a way to communicate [with foreign journalists' unions] that didn't compromise a straight trade union line, even though it was government money." On this matter, I have an excellent idea of how Heywood Broun would have reacted. He would have been outraged.

If this had been only an isolated incident, it would have been distressing enough. But the Guild has become ever more involved in other matters that seem to me to be the antithesis of acceptable journalism performance. Guild chapters having been struggling over taking positions on the Vietnam War, aiding in protest demonstrations, supporting lettuce boycotts, and other public questions that we in the news business must report, it is to be hoped, with balance and fairness. Until recently its house organ, the *Guild Reporter*, has been a model of slanted reporting.

All of these elements flared into open public dispute this summer when the Guild broke with its long tradition of not endorsing presidential candidates. At the Democratic Convention in Miami Beach, Perlik, as the Guild's president, held a news conference at McGovern headquarters wearing a DUMP NIXON button to announce the endorsement of George McGovern. He said "compelling human pressures" had caused the Guild to break with its nearly forty-year tradition of formal neutrality in presidential elections. These pressures, he went on, had "pushed the Newspaper Guild off the thin illusory edge of neutralism and into the arena where the battle will be fought, and won or lost. . . . George McGovern sounds the best beat we can march to. Let's fall in behind him."

In other statements, Perlik struck an even more aggressive stance. The time had come, he said, for the Guild to abandon its "moss-draped tradition"; for too long the Guild had been playing the role of "sterile objectivity" and "political eunuchry"; the day "is far behind us when people who earn their living collecting and disseminating news can pretend to be unaffected or unconcerned about what they learn and see." At the same time, the Guild's international convention in Puerto Rico adopted a Political Action Report stating that the Guild and Guild members "must join labor's efforts to support and expand the numbers of its friends in elective office" other than the presidency and "one of the most effective ways to do so is through the AFL-CIO's Committee on Public Education."

The Guild's political action touched off a bitter controversy that has not yet ended. Petitions condemning the endorsement have been circulated in newsrooms around the country, reporters and other editorial department employees have placed ads of protest in their newspapers, and Guild units have voted to call for a national union referendum on the issue. As only one example, in Washington some 300 working newsmen and women from the wire services, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Star-News*, and a number of other news organizations in the nation's capital placed an advertisement that read:

We, the undersigned members of the working press, hereby disavow and publicly disassociate ourselves from the endorsement by the Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO) of any candidate for any office at any time or place. We make this disavowal in response to the recent endorsement of the Democratic nominee for President of the United States by Charles A. Perlik, Jr., the president of the Newspaper Guild.

We in the news business have an obligation to inform the public. The fulfillment of this obligation depends on maintaining credibility with the public. The Guild has no business interjecting its members into a partisan political role. Its efforts to do so demean us as professionals whose hallmark is fairness. It ties us to a political decision we personally may or may not favor.

The Guild action also inspired strong editorial comment in major newspapers and magazines and on the air. It even served to bring together

"Compromised the integrity of all journalists . . ."

such disparate writers as Nicholas von Hoffman, on the left, and James J. Kilpatrick on the right. Von Hoffman found the endorsement another indication of the Guild selling newsmen down the river. Kilpatrick thought it "has stained the reputation of the good men who belong to it."

Perlik stuck to his guns. The endorsement, he said in responding to his critics, "doesn't compromise professionalism. . . . It is time enough for newspaper people to enjoy the rights of citizens just like everyone else."

In that respect, the manner of the Guild's endorsement was revealing. The issue first came up at the Guild's Puerto Rico convention in June when a Guild committee recommended endorsement of a presidential candidate. That recommendation of the nineteen-member committee was decided by a single vote, 10 to 9. When the issue came to a roll call vote on the floor, a direct McGovern endorsement was defeated, 201 to 148. A

motion authorizing the international executive board to endorse a candidate after both major political conventions then carried, 226 to 124. The Guild's International Executive Board, acting contrary to the authority of that motion, gave Perlik the go-ahead to make a public endorsement before the Democratic Convention had concluded, and a month before the Republicans even met.

As media critic Ben H. Bagdikian reported later:

The makeup of the 226 majority is interesting as a sign of complications in this branch of journalism. The major blocks of votes that put it over were 11 from Boston, 10 from Cleveland, 14 from Los Angeles, 14 from Philadelphia, 16 from San Francisco-Oakland, and the crucial 68 votes from New York. A reversal of votes by the New York delegation or a group of the others would have defeated the endorsement authorization.

A closer examination of that vote showed it was far from a clear reporters' preference. To quote Bagdikian again:

The crucial New York vote, for example, was cast by 18 delegates under the unit rule, meaning a majority of the 18 would decide how all 68 votes would be cast. Tom Lask, of the New York Times book section, headed the delegation and under the rules does not vote except to break a tie. He says that of the eighteen delegates, five or six were working journalists, about the same number non-journalistic employees in the news department, and about a third from commercial departments. In the caucus, the vote was "close," he said. He did not vote but if necessary would have been in favor of the endorsement.

The 14 votes from Los Angeles were all from the long-struck Hearst *Herald-Examiner* (the Los Angeles Times is nonunion) and were cast by two delegates, one a worker in classified ads, the other from circulation. The 10 Cleveland votes were cast by six delegates, half of them not working journalists. The 14 Philadelphia votes were cast by seven delegates, one a photographer, one a reporter, one a fulltime employee of the union local, and four from nonjournalistic departments.

It would be easy to suggest that this episode is merely another sound-and-fury case, signifying nothing. Political endorsements, whether from the press or politicians, are of little significance these days—if, indeed, they ever did mean much. And I can't conceive of an honest newsman being influenced in his work because of a stand his union has taken. Those who are going to play it

straight will do so regardless; those who have an ax to grind will sharpen it.

Neither is the issue one of trying to maintain some illusive and antiseptic "objectivity." Nor is it a newsman's reaction to criticisms of the Agnews of the world. What infuriates many professional journalists is something more significant. It is the basic misconception of the role of a journalist; of the idea that we wear no man's and no groups' special label; that we perform best as critical adversaries of the Establishment, whether in business, government, or the labor unions; that we should refrain from any public identification with any mass movement or special political point of view, no matter how noble; that our most important, and difficult, task is to maintain credibility in what we report and present to the public, not because we want to be liked or applauded but because we have no other reason for our existence.

As a reporter, I resent the implication that we are political eunuchs or lackluster, uncaring, unsophisticated citizens. I believe that what we report and how we report it have considerable power and influence, that we have made a difference on critical issues, that our role in this society is of paramount importance. Unlike the Agnews and other advocates of good-news-only, I think we have not been critical enough on many fronts. I would like to see us be more aggressive, more enterprising, more sophisticated—and I will oppose any group that attempts to place us all in some neatly defined political category that inevitably will lessen our public influence.

One incident indicates how deep a division now exists in the Guild. A petition protesting the political endorsement had been posted at the New York Times' Guild unit. The petition be-

gan with the phrase, "We, as reporters and editors." Above it someone had penciled the comment "Whatsa matter? No one below Group 10 has a mind?" And someone else had written simply: "Elitists."

Thus, the conflict simply boils down to a considerable struggle between those who work for the news side and those who don't. At the heart is an old issue that has never been entirely resolved: whether a reporter performs best as a critical observer in the audience or as a principal actor on the stage. In these days of advocacy journalism and new currents flowing through the newsroom, coupled with increasingly hostile public reaction to the press, the reporters' role is particularly difficult. The Guild today clearly reflects these strains. At times the conflicts appear almost irreconcilable.

Reporters and other newsroom workers face a dilemma. No Guild member wants to give up the economic muscle that comes with wider, more inclusive membership. It means money, better job security and working conditions, and a better life for our families. And even if a reporter objects to his union's actions he has little recourse. Many Guild units operate a closed shop; by contract, you cannot resign without leaving the company. On the other hand, there is enormous significance in the response of many reporters and editors to what they regarded as a compromising act reflecting on their professional integrity: "If these kinds of things continue, the editorial side will have to form its own union."

We have come full circle. Heywood Broun's intent, as he wrote in his celebrated column some four decades ago, was "to form a union for newspaper people." Will the next Heywood Broun please step forward?

Proposals we doubt
ever got proposed

Delegate Sex Switch Advocated

—Trenton, N.J., *Evening Times*,
Sept. 22.

New Jersey's largest, most prestigious newspaper, a "little New York Times" surrounded by affluent and fast-growing suburbs, died in August. Why?

Newark's fallen giant: euthanasia or murder?

RICHARD REEVES

The Newark News was a New Jersey institution, like Princeton University and weekends at the shore. It was in its own way a powerful political force—not always evenhanded, but then who is?

It was New Jersey's paper of record, covering the news from Atlantic City to Morristown. It was a bit stodgy perhaps, and it probably told its readers more about government and politics than they really cared to know, but it was required reading for anyone who wanted to keep up on what was happening in New Jersey, and do it in one easy sitting.

It was, for my money, the best big afternoon paper in the East north of Washington. And like hundreds of thousands of other people in this state, I find life a little less liveable without it.

—John McLaughlin,
Trenton Times,
Jan. 23, 1972.

■ Ten years ago I was the editor of a new weekly newspaper, the Phillipsburg *Free Press*, with a circulation of perhaps 2,000 in Warren County, N.J., a collage of small towns and farms sixty miles west of New York City. The biggest newspaperman out there was also the smallest—

Richard Reeves is a contributing editor of *New York* magazine.

Richard Harpster, who is about 5 feet tall. He looks like a fireplug smoking a cigar, and he was the Warren County correspondent of the Newark *Evening News*, the biggest and best newspaper in New Jersey.

Dick Harpster worked out of his home and there was always a small crowd and a couple of bottles of Scotch around, even when Dick was cruising the county in his Oldsmobile with a trunk full of police radios. There were policemen, working in the darkroom or listening to the calls on the radios crackling all over the house; there were local politicians, the first editor of *Life*, a novelist, and a writer who would spend months at a time lying in the woods to do books about the world of the beaver or the white-tailed deer.

I hung around, too, listening to stories about the *News* and thinking maybe someday I'd get there. When I did get there, in October of 1963, each night at 7 p.m. I went into the Morristown bureau and started down the line of thirty police checks—"Hi, Sarge. Dick Reeves of the Newark *News*. Got anything going?"—and the pile of

memos left by the eight daytime *News* reporters.

My salary was \$90 a week plus \$10 for every picture published, and I had to use my own car to roam northwestern Jersey all night, sometimes with the bureau's other night man, Don Singleton, who is now a feature writer with the *New York Daily News*. We ran to every fire, accident, crime, lost dog (the *News* was big on animal stories), and town meeting where there was any chance of an argument—among other things we needed that \$10 a picture.

Actually, we weren't *really* paid \$90 a week. The *News* had deals with reporters and we could each put in a phony expense account of \$30 a week (we never figured out that our car expenses were probably that high) and six hours a week of phony overtime. So, we took home about \$130 a week. But money wasn't the big thing anyway; we were working for the best and we figured the rich and smart old *Newark News* was paying us that way as part of some enormously sophisticated tax dodge.

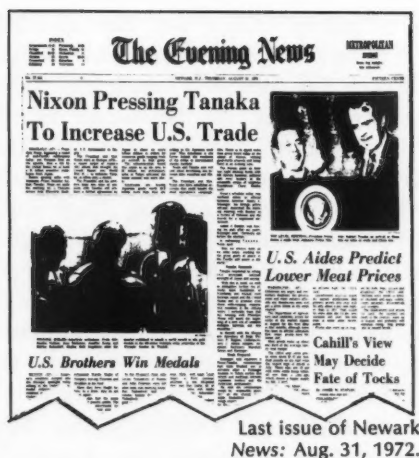
In reality, the *News* was neither rich nor smart and had precious little sophistication. The owners, the Scudder family, had been running it like a grocery store since 1883. Reporters were practically paid in tips, like neighborhood kids carrying a couple of bags for Mrs. Jones. But I didn't know that then. I knew that I worked for the best paper in New Jersey, "The Old Lady of Market St.," "the *New York Times* of New Jersey," a paper with some of the best reporters I have seen before or since, a paper with a daily circulation of close to 300,000, a Sunday circulation of more than 400,000, and almost 40 million lines of advertising with most of its circulation in one of the nation's most affluent and fastest-growing areas, the suburbs west of Newark.

And it was a paper that produced good people. Names that come to mind include: Reuven Frank of NBC News, Stuart Loory of the *Los Angeles Times*, Damon Stetson of the *New York Times*, George Nobbe and Don Singleton of the *Daily News*, George Wilson of the *Washington Post*, Ted Hall of *Time*, John Dotson of *Newsweek*, John Farmer of the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, George Kentera of the *Detroit News*, Bill Crawford of NEA, Bill Canfield of the *Star-Ledger*, Gabe Pressman of New

York's WNEW-TV, and in earlier years, Arthur Sylvester, a great Washington correspondent who, unfortunately, will be remembered as the Assistant Secretary of Defense who said government had the right to lie; Arthur Sinnott, who during the Wilson Administration provoked formal protests from the Washington press corps for his exclusives; and Howard Garis, who created "Uncle Wiggily" on an assignment to find something of interest to young readers.

Of course, the fact that most of those men became ex-*Newark Newsmen* in their late twenties or early thirties also tells a lot about the paper. Upward mobility, professional or financial, was essentially a matter of seniority, and most younger reporters never got out of the suburban bureaus where they began, or they were shifted from one bureau to another. In my two-year travels from Morristown to the Kearny bureau to the *New York Herald Tribune*, I never saw the *News*' editor, William Clark, or the publisher, Richard Scudder.

(No one saw Dick Scudder very much because he concentrated most of his time and energy on the Garden State Paper Co., a *Newark News* subsidiary which developed a successful process to recycle used newsprint. One former news editor gave me a memo characterizing the paper mill as "the beginning of the end" of the *News*: "The *News* presses began ridiculous overruns, providing tons of returns for Dick's paper mill. All that was ominous enough for the health of the *News*, but the really eroding result was that a publisher who had to wheel and deal with local politicians to nail down water rights and sewerage rights for his sideline paper mill wasn't going to be very enthusiastic about continuing the paper's constant vigil in such areas. Suddenly the Passaic Valley Water Commission, the Passaic Valley Sewerage Commission, the Teamsters Union, and everybody else involved with the paper mill were off-limits to snoopy *Newark News* reporters." He was right. I was a snoopy reporter nosing around the Passaic Valley Water Commission in June, 1965, and a day later a couple of Passaic political powers were seen visiting 215 Market St. I was unexpectedly transferred to a faraway bureau.)



I had a worm's eye view, of course. I still do, but since the *Newark News* folded on Aug. 30 I have learned a good bit more about what it was really like:

—The *News* was mismanaged, or unmanaged, on a mind-boggling scale by the third generation of the Scudder family before they sold the paper and associated properties on May 20, 1970. The editorial staff was paid through quiet deals and agreements that would have confused Bobby Fischer, not to mention top *News* executives who literally did not know what their total payroll and costs were. Part of the editorial costs were the rent and salaries of the "San Francisco Bureau," which was actually a townhouse where two Scudder relatives lived. The records of the paper were kept in a single, dog-eared general ledger of the kind Bob Cratchit kept for Ebenezer Scrooge. The master business files were classified by date so that it was impossible to trace past transactions such as the selling of company cars on a used car lot owned by a Scudder brother. Most of the mechanical work on the Sunday editions was done on overtime and under such insane work rules that truckdrivers were making \$25,000 a year.

Circulation and advertising revenue figures were almost certainly inflated, and the new owners could never find \$500,000 in "circulation receivables" listed as part of the paper's assets. They also never found \$100,000 worth of newsprint listed as inventory. As much as 25 per cent of classified advertising revenue was refunded in some months because of typographical errors. A new ad-

dition to the paper's main office and plant at 215 Market Street in Newark was so badly designed that color advertising sometimes had to be turned down because of poor press arrangement, and a dozen men had to be hired to push paper rolls around an "automated" track that could never have worked, even on the drawing board. Finally, under the Scudders, the *Newark News* never had these titles: controller, production manager, or advertising manager.

—The new owner, Media General, Inc., of Richmond, Va., was a fast-growing little conglomerate that was trying to buy up newspapers and TV stations so fast that it never really checked out what it was getting in Newark. When Media General finally realized that it had a disaster on its hands, it acted out the classic role of absentee landlord. It had no commitment to Newark, New Jersey, or the *News*, and it liquidated the property to cut its losses (probably to zero), with the key move being the selling of the Sunday edition and new equipment to S. I. Newhouse, publisher of the *Newark Star-Ledger*. Newhouse paid inflated prices and the equipment is still untouched; what the Newhouse people obviously wanted was the exclusive franchise in a rich area.

—The new *News* unit of the Newspaper Guild, formed in fear when Media General began moving to cut the phony overtime and expenses of editorial salaries, struck the *News* in what John McLaughlin of the *Trenton Times* characterized as "one of the most spectacularly ill-advised moves in the history of American labor." The Guild strike lasted 175 days and related craft strikes another 145, and in the end the reporters got less than management offered before the strike; the crafts were working for Newhouse; and the death of a newspaper was advanced.

"There was certainly enough blame to go around for everyone," said Douglas Eldridge, a committed young civil rights reporter who was chairman of the Guild unit. The truth of that was brought home to me when I began to line up appointments with principals in the demise of the *News*. With the exception of Eldridge, who now works in the Newark office of public information, the pallbearers all agreed to talk only for

background. "No quotes. I don't want to accuse anyone of anything." They all said it before beginning their respective defenses and accusations.

Despite its name, the *News*—which officially became the *Evening News* in 1967—was basically a suburban paper in its later years. "Eighty per cent of the circulation was in the suburbs and around the state," one former executive told me. "The *Star-Ledger* beat us badly in the city, and one of the reasons was that we never had any significant black leadership. Blacks weren't indifferent to the *News*, they were hostile."

In fact, there was no way to tell by reading the *News* in the late Fifties and early Sixties that Newark had become a black city—by then more than half its residents were black. "Photographers were ordered to avoid pictures that portrayed Newark as black," one editor told me. "When there was a parade we would cover it by using head shots of white spectators so out-of-town advertisers might think Newark was unchanged from what they remembered."

That changed in 1967 when George Kentera was promoted from Washington bureau chief to managing editor. He was determined to relate to the new black majority and began weekly luncheon meetings with local black leaders. But Kentera's social conscience may have been a business disaster. When the *News* endorsed a black man for Mayor (City Engineer Kenneth Gibson, who eventually was elected), Italian groups under the leadership of city councilman Anthony Imperiale, who calls himself a white militant, began attacking the *News* and the paper lost its last important circulation base within the city—the predominantly Italian-American North Ward. Only three years after the Scudders had spent \$12 million to expand their downtown plant, the *News*—still the largest and most respected paper in the state—was finished in Newark.

But the *News* could not escape the city and it was too inflexible to really move into suburbia. The Scudders repeatedly rejected advice to go to the suburbs or at least build their new plant on the periphery of the city near expressways. Department store sales and advertising were collapsing as white shoppers stayed away from Newark, and smaller papers outside the city—the

Record of Morris County and the Woodbridge *News Tribune*, which had abandoned declining Perth Amboy and prospered among the shopping centers—were getting the big lineage from all the W. T. Grant and Sears stores in the countryside. It was obviously no coincidence that the *News*' circulation and advertising lineage reached a peak just before Newark's black riots in 1967.

Perhaps in a rising economy and a secure, growing city, the Newark *News* could have been happily mismanaged forever and thrived against the pasteup, rewrite competition of the slicker *Star-Ledger*. But it was going to take more than prestige to survive in changing times. Apparently the Scudders understood that—Richard and his brother Edward, the unseen president of the *News*—because they were out looking for a buyer. They had one requirement: it had to be a big corporation with enough stock to provide the family with a tax-free, Justice Department-approved exchange of stock.

They found Time, Inc., which agreed on Feb. 14, 1968, to purchase the *News* (but not the Garden State Paper Co.) for 325,000 shares of Time stock, worth \$29 million at the time, and the assumption of a \$5 million mortgage on the new printing plant. By April 12, Time, Inc., had found out about 215 Market St. and the deal dissolved. No reason was ever given publicly for termination of the agreement—the total sale price had reached \$38 million by April as Time, Inc., stock rose—but a Time executive told me:

"Our own auditors told us that the Scudders' figures were way off. They had projected a 1967 profit of \$1.8 million, but the real profit was actually under \$300,000. . . . The property was in terrible shape. It was almost unmanaged. It had just been neglected for so long that there was nothing we could do about it. They were way overstaffed and they had union contracts that perpetuated the overstaffing. . . . The Scudders, incidentally, came back to us again late in 1968 and offered the whole thing to us for about \$20 million. We looked again and decided it still wasn't worth it. We could never figure out why Media General wanted it—they couldn't have taken a serious look."

Media General was formed in 1969 by Rich-

mond Newspapers, Inc., the owners of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, Richmond *News Leader*, the Tampa *Times* and Tampa *Tribune*, and two TV stations, WRNL in Richmond and WFLA in Tampa. Media General wanted to double its size in a year under the aggressive and acquisitive leadership of Alan S. Donnahoe. Within five months, it had traded off some of its stock to gain control of the Winston-Salem *Journal* and its sister paper, the Twin City *Sentinel*. The new corporate unit reached the doubling goal by February of 1970, announcing that it would acquire the Newark *News* and Garden State Paper Co. in an exchange of stock totalling up to \$50 million.

By May 20, the papers were signed and the Scudder brothers, whose grandfather Wallace had founded the *News*, were out of the newspaper

"Mismanaged, or unmanaged, on a mind- boggling scale . . ."

business. (Except for one detail: the Scudders were forced to return 11,000 shares of Media General stock worth more than \$300,000 when the new owners discovered that part of the paper's "assets" were hundreds of thousands of dollars in "circulation receivables" with no records to show who owed that money.) "We knew the Newark *News* was on bad times," one Media General executive said, "but we had no idea how bad things really were."

"Richmond," as Media General came to be known around the *News*, sent Bruce Mair, former labor relations director of the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, to Newark as president, and he immediately started alarms ringing on Market St.: he brought in a team of executives from Philadelphia and he moved the paper's clipping morgue to make room for an executive suite to replace the musty office where Dick Scudder had worked

at his grandfather's rolltop desk. In turn, many old employees greeted Mair with what some people came to know as "The Conspiracy of Silence"—the first time the new publisher requested access to payroll records it was refused.

What Mair found was that the Newark *News* was a world of its own. "The Scudders thought money would just keep coming in over the transom," he once told a friend. When he tried to check purchasing records he found that they were useless unless he knew on what date the company had last bought, say, ink. The paper had been buying equipment that the rest of the industry considered obsolete—Photon 200 B's, for instance—because "we heard that's what the *Star-Ledger* has." The union contracts were unique: the Sunday paper was being delivered to dealers in three runs (Tuesday, Friday, and Saturday night), which is why the drivers were so affluent; the paper had twice as many mailers as it needed because the old management had agreed in the 1940s that all work on the Sunday edition would be considered overtime and the unions had established rules that no member could work overtime unless he had already put in his full forty hours—which meant dozens of mailers stood around all week so they could work on the bigger Sunday edition. Then Mair found out about the editorial staff's overtime and expense deals and he characterized it as "stealing."

The man from modern management was also stunned by aspects that were pure Newark *News*: the building had no real lobby and visitors entered by walking past classified ad-takers; photos and artwork were lowered from a seventh-floor window in a basket, to be taken to the most expensive engraving company in New Jersey (the company was owned by the Scudders); the widows of reporters sometimes received checks until their children finished college; cityside editors and reporters got their pay from a clerk with a ragged ledger who walked into the cityroom and blew a police whistle—whereupon all work stopped and the staff lined up for envelopes containing \$2 and \$20 bills—the same denominations with which Wallace Scudder had paid his employees in 1883.

Predictably, Mair tried to cut back the editorial

staff of 250, which even his worst enemies—and he has many among old Newark *News* people—admitted was bloated. He also tried to eliminate the phony overtime (2,000 hours a week) and expenses—the money Dick Harpster and I and a lot of other people had used to feed our families. Predictably, there was trouble. George Kentera resigned as editor rather than execute an order to cut fifty people from the editorial staff on a strict seniority basis. Reporters started talking union—as an example, one of them, Edward Higgins, knew that his real pay would drop from \$275 a week to \$185 without overtime and expenses—and on Feb. 19, 1971, the staff voted 151 to 90 to join the Newspaper Guild.

"I was amazed when we won, the Guild caught on like wildfire," said unit chairman Douglas Eldridge. "Mair was so heavy-handed that the most docile, conservative group of middle-aged newspapermen in the country joined a union. They were a scared bunch of people."

The overtime and expense cuts went into effect a week after the union election. The strike, which began on May 26, was probably inevitable. "We thought they would want to settle quickly," Eldridge said. "I guess we did everything wrong, starting a strike just before Summer when advertising would be down anyway. If Media General wanted to kill the paper, we played right into their hands. . . . But we did what we had to do and if I had to do it all over again, I think I'd do the same things, only sooner."

The strike got rougher and rougher—MEDIA MONSTER FROM THE SOUTH was the headline of one Guild publication. The union, which before the strike had sifted through Mair's paper-shredder, claimed that memos they found indicated that management was trying to persuade craft unions to cross picket lines by circulating the Guild's "minority-group training demands" among white craftsmen. Mair got tougher and tougher, doing little to hide his determination to break the strike. He was negotiating with the craft unions to persuade them to cross the Guild lines and he was negotiating with Newhouse to, in effect, eliminate craft unions at the *News*. Rumors that the crafts were about to go back to work "panicked"—as Eldridge put it—the Guild into

settling on Sept. 9 for what must have been the worst contract on a major Eastern daily. (The Guild wasn't very good at verifying rumors; some of its strategy was based on the belief that Media General had 100 days of strike insurance. Actually the insurance—\$10,000 a day and \$25,000 on Sundays—lasted only fifty days.)

The settlement provided reporters with six years of experience \$220 a week during the first year of the contract, \$235 during the second year, and \$250 in the third year. That was exactly what management had offered before the strike when the Guild demanded \$290 the first year. But during the strike Media General withdrew a series of previous fringe-benefit offers, including a graduated severance-pay schedule.

Two days after the contract was agreed upon, but not yet signed, Media General announced it was selling the Newark *Sunday News* and most of

"One of the most ill-advised strikes in labor history . . ."

the paper's mechanical equipment to the *Star-Ledger* for \$20 million. Media General kept only twenty-nine of the *News*' thirty-six presses (then only five years old), and moved them to its Tampa papers. The presses destined for Florida were worth about \$7 million. So with one signature, Mair had recovered \$27 million of Media General's investment, and since Garden State Paper Co. is worth close to \$20 million, "Richmond" was, at worst, coming out very close to even. Newhouse, which didn't need the *News* equipment and hasn't bothered to pick up most of it, got the Sunday franchise; the *Star-Ledger* became the only Sunday newspaper in a huge corner of the New York metropolitan market.

Meanwhile, nobody could go back to work at the new six-day Newark *News*, to be published under contract at the *Star-Ledger's* plant: the

craft unions had to negotiate new contracts with the *Ledger*. The Guild had signed its contract with Media General on Nov. 16; but not until April 10, 1972, was everything settled and 130 editorial employees were able to return to work. (A total of 600 people worked at the *Newark News* after the strike, compared to 1,300 before; many craft jobs simply no longer existed.) The worst part of it was that the best reporters were the ones offered new jobs during the strike—John Farmer went to Philadelphia and Angelo Baglivo, the best political reporter in the state, joined the staff of Gov. William Cahill.

"If incompetence were a capital offense, the Guild and Media General would be on death row," Farmer said to me the other day. "Media General cannibalized what was left of the paper. They sold off everything of value so it couldn't compete, then they said they had to kill it because it couldn't compete. It churns me up. The Scudders were bad, but at least their errors were errors of omission."

So a thirty-two-page paper called the *Evening News* began coming out in April. It claimed a circulation of 138,000—probably inflated because home delivery was only 11,000—and advertising was running at an annual rate of 9 million lines. Still, there were indications that Media General was willing to make at least a half-hearted try to keep the paper alive. Norman E. Isaacs, editor-in-residence at Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism, was retained as a consultant and told that the paper's projected 1972 loss was \$8.5 million, but "Richmond" was giving Mair until Christmas to show there was a chance to turn a profit within two years. After it was all over Isaacs, former editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and *Times*, pointed out one of the great ironies of the whole affair: A demographic study might show that northwestern New Jersey, the

suburban area west of Newark, is the best place in the United States in which to try to establish a new quality daily newspaper.

"There is a vast untapped territory out there," he said. "This was a classic American story of the third generation—the Scudders—taking their eye off the ball. Media General wasn't perfect, but its biggest mistake was buying a shambles . . . the *Newark News* used to be one of the country's great regional newspapers, like the *Milwaukee Journal*, the *Buffalo Evening News*, the *Kansas City Star*. There was a day you couldn't fall off a bicycle in New Jersey without getting your name in the *News*."

Now, you could probably strike oil in parts of northern New Jersey and not get in the papers. The days that I remember rather romantically are gone—the days when an auto accident at 4 a.m. on Route 46 would bring Don Singleton and me with our cameras, Paul McEntyre from the *Passaic Herald News*, Fred Cicetti and Joe Feury of the *Morristown Record*, and Bill Rhatican of the *Paterson News*. Without the *Newark News* to set the pace, the newspaper business in that part of the world appears to be about collecting ads from shopping centers. It couldn't happen in a worse place, because New Jersey needs a paper like the *News* to give it an identity. There now is no statewide paper, and because New Jersey is between New York City and Philadelphia, it lacks even one TV station.

The notice went up on the bulletin board in the cityroom at 9:30 in the morning of Aug. 29: "Closing the doors of a newspaper is a sad decision. . . ." Dick Harpster, the Warren County correspondent, had been there twenty-four years. He was hired right away by the *Phillipsburg Free Press*, which has grown a lot in ten years, at \$240-a-week. That's more than he ever got at the *Newark News*.

Copyreaders' golden moments department

and sou it up to nors-
es. Then, just for kicks, John
Kazian walks along the top
wing at speeds approaching
200 miles an hour.

—*Milwaukee Sentinel*,
July 29.

Notes on the art

Reade's rebuff

Let me say first young man, I think you've broken just about every concept of journalistic integrity in the way you put the question. You didn't ask a question: you made a speech.

—Vice President Spiro Agnew responding to a question at a news conference in Boston.

■ What the Vice President apparently did not understand is that simple, direct questions have become passé. Young reporters who know no pre-TV world take this in stride. But older reporters sometimes find it difficult to shed the habit of brevity. A good example is what happened to a friend of mine, a veteran reporter named Reade. He was in line for an assignment to the Washington bureau of his newspaper. First, however, the editor sent Reade to a special institute for a refresher course. Reade was in trouble the very first day.

The instructor took a piece of chalk and printed on the blackboard: VIETNAM TROOP PULLOUT. He turned to the class and said: "I am the President of the United States." He aimed his pointer at a mock TV camera in the corner of the classroom. "And this is a nationally televised press conference. Mr. Reade, since you are obviously the senior man in the class, I will recognize you first. Let me hear you ask a question on the subject."

Reade stood up, his arms at his side. "Mr. President—"

"No, no, Mr. Reade. Don't look

at me full-face. Turn your face so that the TV camera catches your good side."

"Hah?"

The instructor sighed. "If there is anything that movie stars have taught us it is that one's face has a good and a bad side. Please find out yours before the next class. Also, tilt your chin upward so that the TV audience will think you are asking a tough question—which you won't, of course. No reporter who wants to be recognized regularly by the President at televised press conferences will ask a tough question. And where is your ballpoint pen?"

"In my pocket," said Reade.

"Hold it in your hand."

"Oh, I see. To take down the answer immediately."

The instructor raised his eyes to the ceiling of the classroom. "It's to point at the President. How else will you be able to get across the idea that you know more about the subject than any other reporter?"

"Why should the President care about how much I know?"

"Not the President! The TV audience! Never mind. Let's hear your question."

"Mr. President. How many troops will there be in the next pullout?"

There was dead silence. The instructor said: "Is that all?"

"Yeah," said Reade. "What's wrong with it?"

"Just about everything. It's so short you'd be finished before the TV camera had a chance to pan to you. Remember: the longer the question, the longer you're on TV. Also, a short question doesn't give the President time to think up a careful answer."

"Why should I give him time to think? Maybe if I catch him off-guard it will give me a scoop."

The class tittered. The instructor tried to conceal his amusement.

"How gauche. I gather from your usage of that quaint word you have been a reporter for some time."

"I started out as a copyboy on the old Brooklyn *Eagle*."

"Then why are you finding it so

difficult to grasp this basic concept? Let Mr. Rigg here show you how it should be done."

A long-haired youth stood up, faced his right—or good—side to the mock TV camera, jutting his chin upward, directed the tip of his ballpoint pen toward the instructor, and said:

"Mr. President. In your campaign speech at Pothole Landing, Ia., in October, Nineteen-hundred and sixty-eight, you said that the number of American troops in Vietnam would be down to 100,000 by the Spring of Nineteen-hundred and seventy-two. According to your most recent troop withdrawal announcement, given in a speech during the Christmas holidays of Nineteen-hundred and seventy-one at Wallaby Normal Junior College, you said the number had fallen to around 200,000. Then on St. Patrick's day last—March 17, although as you know, the date is an arbitrary one picked by the Irish because St. Patrick was actually a Roman and the exact date of his birth is lost in the mists of time—you said that all Irish-named American soldiers were being rotated back to the States and that figure, according to the release given us by your press secretary, is approximately 50,000. This brings the difference between those troops still in Vietnam this Spring and the figure you promised in your Pothole campaign speech to about 50,000. As you know, sir, Spring is here. In fact, it has been here since March 21. My question, Mr. President, is this: Are we correct in assuming that your next Vietnam troop pull-out will be the figure I mentioned, 50,000—provided, of course, that my arithmetic is correct, which it may not be, otherwise I would have become a computer analyst instead of a reporter?"

The students broke into instantaneous applause. When the class was over the instructor asked Reade to stay behind. He said: "Mr. Reade, I asked you to stay behind after class to ask you a question in

privacy. My question, Mr. Reade, is this: Have you ever considered free-lance writing?"

WILLIAM O'TOOLE

William O'Toole, who was a humor columnist for the former *Denver Daily Chief*, now is a free-lance living in Massachusetts.

The Genovese syndrome

■ About a year ago—on Nov. 28, a Sunday—morning newscasts in New York City included a report that a young man named Robert Krause had been stabbed to death as he went to the aid of a mugging victim. As I heard the report, a circuit clicked in my mind. Eight years ago the *New York Times* had made an enormous impact on world opinion by reporting how New Yorkers had turned a deaf ear to the pleas of a young woman being murdered. Here the direct opposite had happened. I wanted to learn more.

The next morning I turned to the *Daily News*. At the top of page 5, it carried two photographs and a story. The lead:

In a front hallway at 340 E. Ninth Street, a 24-year-old man named Robert Krause died Saturday night trying to help a neighbor being held up by robbers. For one night and half a day Krause's blood had been drying on that hallway floor.

One of the photographs showed the doorway, on which was scrawled the cryptic message: PLEASE DON'T ENTER UNLESS YOU DON'T LIVE HERE. Reporter Jean Crafton was told by the victim's brother:

"Bobby was across the street with this other guy . . . he saw three guys approach Santo . . . and I guess Bobby could see they were trying to rob him . . . anyway, he flew across the street to help him . . . the other guy,

he tried to get over there to help my brother . . . but it was raining so hard . . . and there were lots of cars coming . . . by the time he got over there my brother had already been stabbed."

The *Post* devoted eight column-inches to the story on page 12 under a two-column head, A GOOD SAMARITAN SLAIN ON E 9TH. The *Daily Mirror*, an offset revival of its namesake which since has failed, ran a page 3 report under a four-column head, TRIES TO HALT MUGGING, DIES. The *Times* Monday edition, however, had nothing on Robert Krause, not even an obituary.

Curious about the omission, I inquired. Assistant metropolitan editor George Barrett said the *Times* did run a story—a three-inch item on page 70—in the last edition of the *Sunday Times*. That edition reaches fewer than 20 per cent of the *Times* Sunday readers and is generally limited to mid-Manhattan.

"The reason the *Times* had nothing about the slaying of Mr. Krause in Monday's paper as the *News* did," Barrett explained, "was because the killing occurred Saturday night and, needless to say, the *Times* had the story in Sunday's paper." The *Times* story said:

A passerby who went to the aid of a man being robbed in an apartment-house lobby was killed last night, the police said.

Robert Krause, 24 years old, of 334 East Sixth Street, was said by police to have been walking by 340 East Ninth Street at about 7:55 p.m. when he noticed three men robbing Santo Tafarella, 50, of that address, at knife-point. The three men took \$3 and did not harm Mr. Tafarella, the police said.

Mr. Krause, an unemployed laborer, went to his aid, they said, and was fatally stabbed in the left chest. The three men escaped.

It was all there: Who, What, Where, When, Why, How. It was a classical example of "straight" reporting—a factual entry lifted from the police blotter.

This was what had happened at first in the famous Kitty Genovese case. On March 14, 1964, the *Times* reported on page 26:

A 28-year-old Queens woman was stabbed to death early yesterday morning outside her apartment house in Kew Gardens.

Neighbors who were awakened by her screams found the woman, Miss Catherine Genovese . . . shortly after 3 a.m. in front of a building three doors from her home.

The police said that Miss Genovese had been attacked in front of her building and had run to where she fell. She had parked her car in a nearby lot, the police said, after having driven it from the Hollis bar, where she was the day manager.

The police, who spent the day searching for the murder weapon, interviewing witnesses, and checking automobiles that had been seen in the neighborhood, said last night they had no clues.

The *Herald Tribune*, *News*, and *Post* covered the murder at some five times the length of the *Times* piece, on pages 10, 5, and 3, respectively. In one short, devastating lead, Robert Parrella of the *Tribune* summed up the tragic element in the Genovese slaying:

The neighbors had grandstand seats for the slaying of Kitty Genovese.

And yet, when the pretty, diminutive 28-year-old brunette called for help, she called in vain.

It wasn't until she had been stabbed twelve times and had crawled into a vestibule, that somebody called police. . . .

Parrella also reported the interesting fact—never again mentioned in the glut of later writing—that the neighbor who had called the police was arrested, fined, and given a suspended jail sentence on the charge of a detective who claimed he had "tried to prevent him from questioning one of Miss Genovese's roommates."

Sometime during the next two weeks, A. M. Rosenthal, then the

Times metropolitan editor, had lunch with Michael Murphy, then police commissioner. Commissioner Murphy called to his attention the full extent of the neighbors' reluctance to assist the dying Miss Genovese. After this lunch meeting, Rosenthal personally ordered a platoon of *Times* reporters into Queens. They interviewed residents who had not called the police; they plotted precise times for events such as the passage of the Q-10 Lefferts Boulevard bus at 3:35 a.m.

On March 27, 1964, the Genovese murder followup appeared on page 1 under the byline of Martin Gansberg. The next day, the *Times* thundered in an editorial:

Does residence in a great city destroy all sense of personal responsibility for one's neighbors? Who can explain such shocking indifference on the part of a cross-section of our fellow New Yorkers? We regretfully admit that we do not know the answers.

The late Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia read the Gansberg piece into the *Congressional Record*. Loudon Wainwright wrote in the April 10 issue of *Life*: "To judge from the recent, bitter example given us by the good folks of a respectable New York residential area, Samaritans are very scarce these days . . . we are becoming a callous, chicken-hearted, and immoral people." Two psychologists analyzed the case in a book that won each of them a \$1,000 award from the American Association for the Advancement of Science. And Rosenthal, who is now managing editor, wrote an article in the *Times* magazine and a book on the case.

When I inquired whether the *Times* might do a followup on Krause, Barrett admitted the desk could have done more with the story but said that by Monday "it was sort of old hat." Was it "old hat" because neither the victim nor the neighborhood—or both—were middle or upper class and, therefore, happened to measure up as news subjects? Or was it "old hat"

because the story ran counter to editors' mind-set about what is "news" or "socially significant."

I have had occasion to ponder these questions since then, most recently in coverage of two muggings in September. After the fatal stabbing of Columbia law professor Wolfgang G. Friedmann the *Times* reported [Sept. 28]—while printing a letter that disputed the point—"The street was crowded with passersby at the time, the police said. . . ." Over the same page 1 story, which chronicled the mugging of attorney Herman B. Glaser, was the headline: MANY LOOK ON AS 3 YOUTHS HERE MUG AND ROB PROMINENT LAWYER.

In one of his postmortem reports on the Genovese murder, A. M. Rosenthal wrote:

It seems to this writer that what happened . . . was a symptom of a terrible reality in the human condition—that only under certain situations and only in response to certain reflexes or certain beliefs will a man step out of his shell toward his brother.

Did not Robert Krause "step out of his shell"? What about his reflexes and beliefs? By the very questions it raised in the Genovese coverage, the *Times* would seem to have some obligation to dig more deeply into the heroism of people like Robert Krause.

CHRISTOPHER TRUMP

Christopher Trump is assistant dean of Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism.

Diary of a woman job hunter

■ SEPTEMBER, 1971. Paris. The office of UPI Paris news editor Ray Herndon. He was expecting me. He had received a letter and my résumé from H. L. Stevenson, then UPI managing editor and now editor. I

was a journalism graduate of Columbia had worked for a year for the *Record* in Bergen County, N.J., and was fluent in French and Spanish. Stevenson had said we could talk about my working "in a place like Columbus, O.," but I wanted to work in Europe, so he had referred me to Herndon.

Herndon told me things were in "a state of flux," that no hiring was being done because of President Nixon's wage-price freeze, but things should open up in about three months. He said he envisaged three openings, one of which I might be qualified for: the only woman in the bureau was going to Moscow in December. He added that for a couple of months there had been two women in the Paris bureau, but that this had proved disastrous. Was it worth my while to stay in Europe? Yes, something should develop in the next three months. I worked as a "tryout" for one day, then left Paris. He was to let me know as soon as there was an opening.

ABOUT TWO MONTHS LATER. A journalist friend in Paris called Herndon to ask if anything was new. "Tell her," said Herndon, "that there is a possibility of a job, but in Paris only temporarily. She would be permanently stationed in Brussels. If she is willing to go to Brussels and is still interested, ask her to write a letter to that effect."

I wrote the letter. No response. Toward the end of November I called Paris and spoke with deskman Mike Dennigan. "Things have changed," he said. "But why don't you stop by when you get to Paris in December. We'll have a cup of coffee and talk."

THE END OF DECEMBER. "Well," Mike Dennigan told me, "the female in the bureau is not going to Moscow, and as of now we have no openings. But things are in a state of flux. If you can afford it, why don't you stick around for the month of January and we'll see what happens at the end of the month. You know, of course, that

we won't be able to pay you anything. We'll give you a try, but you know, quite honestly, I am looking for a young male reporter. Call me a male chauvinist pig if you want to, but that's what I am."

I knew UPI had a practice of inviting people to work for nothing. When I had my one-day tryout in September, a young man had been working under the same circumstances. He was finally employed in the photo department. Later he moved to the news desk.

I believed it would be good experience, so I stayed through January. The male who was working for nothing worked the slot and was sent out on hard news stories; I did three features. At the end of January, I was told it would be unfair to keep me there any longer without a salary as there were no job possibilities. I received \$20 for services rendered.

FEBRUARY, 1972. London. I was introduced to Richard Growald now head European news editor; and European night Editor Alvin Webb. UPI was in the process of moving its headquarters from London to Brussels, and everything was "in a state of flux."

"There is absolutely nothing available now," said Growald. "I suggest you go home, get a job anywhere in the States, and as soon as there is an opening we will call you back to Europe, providing you are able to pay your own fare. Don't get lost, keep in touch. There is a 95 per cent chance you will eventually be able to work in Rome, probably in August or September. The female in Rome is planning to return to the States."

"Do you know why we have a female in Rome?" said Al Webb. "Because I'll be goddammed if I'd send my Vatican correspondent up to Florence to cover the fashion shows. That's our only excuse for having a female in Rome."

They told me to forget about Paris, that it had been unfair of the

Paris bureau to lead me on. "As long as Aline Mosby is there, there will never be another female in that bureau," Webb told me. "... Our policy is three females in Europe and one female to a bureau. The only possibility you have of getting a job with us is if one of them decided to leave."

When I asked why this attitude toward women, especially since UPI had so many bureaus, the agency's London female correspondent had just won the Pulitzer Prize and its female correspondent in Paris is known as one of UPI's best reporters, the answer was, "They're different." "Maybe you're different, too," said Webb, "but we can't take

"Our policy is one female to a bureau . . ."

the risk. I've told you a hundred times that if there is an opening for a female you will definitely be considered."

MARCH. I returned to Paris to work for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, to which I had been recommended by UPI. "Yes, definitely take the job," said Al Webb when I called to ask his advice. "At least that way you would be in Europe. If there is an opening it would be much easier if you were here. It will also be good experience because it is a wire service."

Again, much talking in Brussels and then again in Paris when the European Editor was there for a few days. I asked for a definite answer by May 15.

MAY 15. The word from Brussels: "Sorry, I have bad news for you. There is no possibility for the next three months. Right now I am des-

perately trying to hold on to the people I've got. That doesn't mean there might not be something three months from now. Yes, Rome is still a possibility. But right now there is nothing."

That was Monday. Three days later, on May 18, I walked into the Paris bureau. There, sitting at the news desk, was a young man I had never seen before. He was introduced as Arthur Herman. He had been hired the week before. He told me he had worked for eighteen months on an Alabama newspaper and had been very lucky to get the job at UPI, the job situation being what it was.

"So you've hired somebody else," I said to Mike Dennigan. "Yes," he replied. "Alex is going to Zurich and . . ."

I called Brussels. "I have told you before and I will tell you again," said Al Webb, "that our policy is one female to a bureau. So forget about Paris. As long as I'm head of this European operation I'll be goddammed if it's going to change. Besides, we are grooming him to go to the Middle East and I'll be goddammed if I'll ever send a woman to the Middle East. We've tried it before and it just doesn't work."

Then he said that I did not have enough experience anyway, that I should go home and work on a newspaper for a year. Then I would be ready to work for UPI. Working for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency was "no experience." (UPI, however, had recently hired a male from the JTA office in London to work in the UPI Brussels bureau.) This was the first time "lack of experience" had been mentioned.

JUNE. Brussels. Just before leaving Europe for a visit to the U.S., I spoke with a UPI correspondent in Brussels. He said he had spoken with Webb and that the only reason I had not gotten the job was "pure male chauvinism."

JUNE. New York. The office of H. L. Stevenson. "Even if a half or

a third of what you have told me is true, it is reprehensible," Stevenson said. "I will investigate."

Stevenson provided these statistics: UPI's 800 editorial employees in the United States include ninety women reporters and desk people. Eleven women are in managerial positions: seven are bureau managers, including two state bureau managers (in Iowa and Vermont); one is a general news editor (one of five news editors in New York); one is news editor (one of five) in the broadcasting department in Chicago; one is assistant business editor; and one is assistant features editor. Of UPI's total of 1,400 employees, 186 are women.

"We have been told by the Office

of Equal Employment Opportunity that we were not hiring enough blacks and women and that we should recruit more," Stevenson said. "In the last five months we have employed thirty-five reporters and news writers, twelve of whom were women. We are attempting to recruit more women."

Before I left New York, he told me, "I asked our European news editor Richard Growald about your comments. He assured me there were no quotas of any sort for women in the European operation. He said he is aware, as we are aware, that some of the outstanding reporters in UPI are women. He has given me assurances that his recruiting will follow general UPI policy."

JULY. Paris. I resumed work at the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. Friends told me I was "crazy" to write this story—that it might jeopardize my career; that one bureau manager often contradicts another; that it is not uncommon for editors to "string" applicants along; that even if it is conceded that women are discriminated against this is unlikely to change in this generation. Perhaps. But if nobody writes about these problems, how are we ever going to get them solved?

HELEN DRUSINE

Helen Drusine is on the staff of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in Paris.

The case of the disappearing TV booths . . . Now you see them . . .



—New York Times composite photo as taken: from CBS house organ *Columbine*, September, 1972.

. . . Now you don't



—New York Times photo as published Aug. 22.

Books

Luce: obsessive propagandist?

JAMES BOYLAN

LUCE AND HIS EMPIRE. By W. A. Swanberg. Scribner's. \$12.50.

■ Titans have become W. A. Swanberg's specialty. With inexorable regularity he has produced in the last dozen years full-scale biographies of William Randolph Hearst (and was unjustly denied a Pulitzer Prize by Columbia's trustees), Theodore Dreiser, and Joseph Pulitzer. Now he has brought forth his Luce.

Never let it be said that this biographer settles for trivial or uncomplicated subjects, for in Henry Robinson Luce he has found a man even harder to portray than Hearst or Pulitzer. The co-founder and leader, for four decades, of *Time*, Inc., lacked what is commonly taken for charisma or personal style; his life was largely devoid of outward adventure, particularly after the founding of his major magazines and his discovery of his celebrated second wife; and to read his prose is like eating cornflakes without milk or cream. Yet it is almost universally accepted that Luce had greater impact on journalism, on national politics, and on America's position in the world than any other person in his field—and, conceivably, than any other person not holding a public office.

Swanberg accepts the common assessment of Luce's influence without really being able to document it, but takes pains to deny him legitimacy as a journalist. Throughout, the biographer portrays Luce not as a great innovator in news forms but as an obsessive propagandist, driven by his sense of mission to promote an American triumph against the forces of darkness abroad in the world—i.e., communism. The news and picture journalism that Luce sold so successfully to the American public Swanberg views merely as a vessel peculiarly adapted to the propaganda techniques

—distortion, omission, inaccuracy, distraction—that Luce favored.

The consistency of this thesis is both a strength and a hazard to the biography. Swanberg is able to demonstrate convincingly the continuity in Luce's view of the world from Yale days—his desire for a Christianized China, his anti-radicalism, his ready appeal to jingoism and armed force, his belief in big business and the GOP as God's instruments. He shows, moreover, that these beliefs led Luce and his magazines down many curious byways over the years—tolerance of fascism, promulgation of an aggressive American internationalism, and puffery for an unlikely assortment of heroes from Mussolini to Ngo Dinh Diem.

Moreover, Swanberg relates Luce's views to material, especially in *Time*, published in pursuit of Luce's objectives. This relationship was most notoriously clear, of course, in those quadrennial orgies when *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* set out to elect the Republican presidential candidate and to destroy the Democrat, the most cruelly handled victim being Adlai E. Stevenson. Swanberg implies that Luce deliberately maneuvered men into editorial power who would use (or permit the use of) the magazines as propaganda organs. His two chief exhibits in this category are the notorious foreign-news editor of the 1930s, Laird S. Goldsborough, and Whittaker Chambers, each of whom shaped alleged news stories in *Time* according to his own brand of Communist-hatred.

Still, it is hard to accept the thesis without qualification—that there was really no journalistic validity to the Luce magazines. Like Swanberg's other titans, Hearst and Pulitzer, Luce was also an entrepreneur in talent. Much as newspapermen of the turn of the century were lured to the *World* or the *Journal*, promising men (and a few women) of the Thirties, Forties, and Fifties came to *Time*, Inc., among them James Agee, John Hersey, Margaret Bourke-White, Theodore White, Ralph Ingersoll, and Archibald MacLeish. Clearly, such people did not join Luce to make propaganda, but because they saw something new and vital happening. If many left, it was not necessarily because they believed that *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* had no potential as journalism, but because that potential was being blighted from

above. The record of the magazines since Luce's death has supported that belief to a degree.

Whatever its validity, this contention of the illegitimacy of Luce's journalism is central to Swanberg's view of Luce the man. Much of the story is familiar, particularly in the early years, from previous books: Noel Busch's old biography of Briton Hadden, co-founder of *Time* and Luce's rival in youth; Robert T. Elson's vivid authorized history of the company's first eighteen years; and John Kobler's anecdotal biography of 1968. But Swanberg is adept at developing the main themes of character—the hard-driving Presbyterianism, the MacArthurian touch of proconsulitis, the drive toward formal intellectual excellence, the eternal desire to associate with the powerful. Possibly the only serious omission is his neglect of Luce the businessman and corporate builder.

Swanberg probes hard to find Luce the private man. The figure is elusive, for he rarely can find Luce dropping out of character; he reports, for example, that there was only one authenticated instance of Luce's laughing in public. Yet there are glimpses of humanity: his continued concern for the welfare of his first wife after he was smitten by the glamour of Clare Boothe Brokaw; his long intellectual friendship with Mary Bancroft, a younger woman who dared challenge everything Luce believed. She served as a kind of liberal conscience; he would not actually change anything for her, but he felt at least that he was answerable to her. Even so, the dominant portrait is that of a man trying to be a machine—a mechanism with no time for amenities, oblivious of the food and drink that fueled it, demanding of laggard servants and employees. He had always the aspect of the American Tycoon, the monster of efficiency, the successful sonofabitch.

Swanberg has caught much of this elusive stuff with the help, he admits, of many Luce associates who remain loyal to his memory and will not like the portrait offered here. Modestly, Swanberg depicts his work as a kind of beginning biography of Luce, to be supplanted later by more intensive researchers. One doubts that this will be entirely true, for it is likely that Swanberg has carved out here a craggy but lasting portrait from the hardest kind of biographical flint.

Mickelson, Mayer, and TV

ROBERT LEWIS SHAYON

THE ELECTRIC MIRROR: POLITICS IN AN AGE OF TELEVISION. By Sig Mickelson. Dodd, Mead. \$8.95.

ABOUT TELEVISION. By Martin Mayer. Harper & Row. \$10.

■ Readers who would like to see the public more actively involved in television decision-making, who support the current "access" movement in the media, will find these new books of limited usefulness, perhaps even reactionary, although Mickelson's book is less susceptible to this charge than Mayer's. Research in communications suggests that audiences model behavior in real life on cues presented to them by the media. Books and magazine articles which picture the public as helpless to influence the giantism of TV may actually contribute to frustration and apathy.

Mayer writes about almost everything in TV; Mickelson narrows his focus to TV news and public affairs programing in their relation to politics, government, campaigns, and elections. Both provide valid descriptions of what goes on in their selected universes, but in the end a reader's impulse to do anything is blunted—in Mickelson's book by vague generalizations and in Mayer's book by a pervasive tone of cynicism and contempt for anyone who earnestly seeks to make TV serve any social purpose other than "communications pleasure" and "the most desperate of human needs, the need for escape from boredom, escape from self."

Both books map their chosen territories in broad sweeps. They deal with the histories of their subjects, the changes that have occurred, the current scene in many dimensions, the problems, shortcomings, and challenges, and they venture predictions and opinions about the future. Mickelson, a former president of CBS News and the first president of CBS-TV News, attempts an objective view, expressing doubts occasionally,

Robert Lewis Shayon, former TV-radio critic of *Saturday Review*, is a professor at the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, and author of the recent book *Open to Criticism* (Beacon Press).

sometimes contradicting himself, and being dispassionate in his judgments; Mayer, a free-lance writer, former editor, and reporter who has written books about schools, the law, and Madison Avenue, lays about him with the sharpest of *ad hominem* axes. It's "a cold, hard world." There is a "Puritan war against cheerful consumption." He speaks of "snotty kids," "young twerps among the television journalists," and of the Republicans, at their 1968 convention, "calmly ignoring an outside hubbub of nuts." "The Nick Johnsons and Harry Skornias and Thomas P. F. Hovings" are "in the afflatus business." The only academic for whom he has any respect is Richard Hoggart, the British media sociologist, and after genuflecting to him, he attacks Hoggart's fundamental premises about TV's threat to society's "saving remnant."

Mayer's thesis is that mass entertainment can't inspire viewers to desire "a comprehended life," and that it is cruel actually to seek to deprive people of their right to live "an unexamined life." TV, however, he concedes, is too important any longer to be scorned; it must be looked at straight-on; and this he proceeds to do, giving out voluminous facts, figures, anecdotes, and personal impressions gathered from books and from interviews with almost everybody at gatekeeper posts in the industry. Mayer is the better writer and his book bounces along, although there is a limit to a reader's capacity to absorb the John Gunther I-know-everything-down-to-the-last-minutiae style. Mickelson is at his best when he narrates events in which he personally participated.

In the cases of both authors, their contradictions are more intriguing than their affirmations. Mickelson, on the one hand, asserts that TV has brought "former dropouts to at least a minimal level of (political) understanding and interest," but elsewhere he writes that there are no conclusive data to back up the assumption that "the American voter is better informed concerning the issues as a result of television viewing." He adds that some students conclude "that subjecting a voter to a vastly greater volume of information has served more to confuse him." He also tells us we must use television more wisely in the future than in the past but he fails to analyze the insti-

tutional constraints which produced the past and make control of the future very difficult.

Mayer's attitude is curious. Behind his cynicism lurks a former idealist's shadow. He recommends more professionalism in the industry, but he spends the whole of his book describing the forces which make professionalism impossible. He charges that the leaders of TV "don't do the best they can." Why they should do their best—in view of the depressing context Mayer presents of the human potential for improvement—is a proposition he fails to confront.

No reporter can check all information given to him, and in at least two inconspicuous comments (about which I have personal knowledge) Mayer is inaccurate. He writes that *You Are There*, the CBS radio program, was a product of the news department. Wrong. His story about the genesis of a special 1971 KYW-TV (Group W) program in Philadelphia, on the Bicentennial proposal for that city, is false. The cell in the sample is ridiculously small, but I hope that other stories Mayer reports do not suffer from the same shortcomings.

People in the industry will find no novel insights in either book; the material has been worked over before. Outsiders will find a great amount of behind-the-scenes material that will instruct them. *The Electric Mirror* and *About Television* take their place on the growing shelf of books about the medium not as bell-ringers which bring us memorable insights but as books which broaden the public's opportunity to learn more about the medium's basic well of facts.

Book Notes

SILENT POLITICS: POLLS AND THE AWARENESS OF PUBLIC OPINION. By Leo Bogart. John Wiley & Sons.

■ Journalists groping their way through the plethora of election-year polls will find the whole of Leo Bogart's book stimulating and the first two sections particularly relevant. Here he discusses "Polls and Politics" and "Opinion Research and Public Policy." Included in these sections are ex-

amples of uses and misuses of polls, competent and incompetent surveys, and the strengths and weaknesses of the quantitative measurement of opinion. Polls asking for a choice between clearcut alternatives, as in elections, are likely to provoke meaningful answers, the author observes, but we often settle for "comic book statistics" on matters requiring reflection and debate. He concludes: "The troubles with the public polls are essentially the troubles with the news media," which often lump together good and bad polls, misinterpret them, or treat them as oracles.

Also included here are observations on the utility of polls for the mass media. They can help the journalist avoid victimization by vocal minorities, they can highlight the views of different constituencies within a larger group that might otherwise be treated as homogeneous, and they can assist the investigative reporter in identifying pressing social problems even before they lead to sensational events. There is, however, no attempt to describe polling methods.

But those who read only the first two sections will miss the main import of the book. The author points out that opinion, whether individual or collective, is a complicated phenomenon. To understand it—and the polls—requires a broad knowledge of human behavior and social institutions. He therefore devotes more than half his space to discussions of how opinions form and change, why the same person may hold inconsistent opinions, how opinion formation and change are related to political conditions in various countries, why some opinions are not expressed, and how revolutionaries seek to influence the public through the use of unconventional tactics. A concise summary of opinion on the Vietnam War illustrates trends in public reactions to a major issue.

Bogart is executive vice president of the ANPA's Bureau of Advertising, a sociologist, an authority on the mass media, author of books on a wide variety of subjects, and an accomplished opinion researcher in his own right. His varied interests are reflected in his diversity of sources. He is at home with the technical literature of sociology and psychology, historical treatises and business publications, as well as with the polls and contemporary journalism. From this massive body of

source material he adduces a wealth of examples to illustrate his observations. One example may be from the Warsaw ghetto during Nazi occupation, a second from the New Hampshire primary of 1968, and a third from the French Revolution.

Certain ideas stand out. Polls are a factor in the political process; not merely a reflection of what people are willing to tell interviewers. They are difficult to interpret and easy to misuse, even when well done. They offer no substitute for policy-making, but no political leader can afford to ignore them. They are a conservative influence in that they record only present and past thinking; but they also can tell us something about the future. "It is never the opinion of the moment, but the potential for opinion change which must preoccupy those who seek to exert political influence." The reader of *Silent Politics* will not learn how to take his own poll, but he cannot avoid becoming more sophisticated in judging the findings of polls taken by others. He may also emerge with a better understanding of how opinions form and change; how they are related to the psychological makeup of the individual and the fabric of society.

W. PHILLIPS DAVISON

THE PRESS AND THE PUBLIC: THE STORY OF THE BRITISH PRESS COUNCIL. By George Murray, C.B.E. New Horizons in Journalism series, edited by Howard Rusk Long. Southern Illinois University Press. \$8.95.

■ Before his death in 1970, George Murray, veteran editorial writer for London's *Daily Mail*, all but completed this account of the work of the almost twenty-year-old British Press Council, of which he was a founding member and, for a time, chairman. There is much instruction in his narrative for the growing number of Americans concerned, as professionals or as members of the public, with potential press councils here. Although the British body grew from the recommendations of an official Royal Commission, it has been entirely nongovernmental and, indeed, in its first decade was completely the creature of the newspaper industry. (The threat of legislation induced the reformation of the council to include five lay members and a lay chairman in its membership of twenty-five.)

Thus, Murray found, the council was never a threat to freedom of the press but still served important functions. Its expected concern with newspaper politics and economics never really developed; instead, it came to deal almost entirely in cases of newspaper morality, serving as a "court of honour" for the public. It came to act as well as a kind of industry public-relations office of the best kind, as a watchdog of proceedings involving the press in Parliament and the courts, and as a repository of information on the industry. Murray was clearly annoyed at critics who saw the council's admonitions as ineffectual ("a hollow turnip"). He believed that the institution would endure as "at once an accuser of the press and a defender." To date, he has been proved correct.

Note: Murray's book can profitably be read in conjunction with the sourcebook by H. Phillip Levy, *The Press Council: History, Procedure and Cases* (St. Martin's Press, 1967).

POLITICAL POWER AND THE PRESS. By William J. Small. W. W. Norton. \$8.95.

■ The title is promising but the substance thin in this survey by the CBS bureau manager in Washington. He offers a catalog—in the main familiar—of journalists' conflicts with government, ranging from the sainted John Peter Zenger to the Pentagon Papers. Mere familiarity would not condemn them if the author had done original reporting and research on them; instead, they are recounted conventionally. Even the two chapters

on the travail of *The Selling of the Pentagon*, for which CBS was responsible, could almost have been written by an outsider. It is possible that Small was simply acting the "good journalist" and staying out of the way of what he conceived as his story; if so, he succeeded too well, for the reader is left wondering what Small's own convictions and reactions are to his twice-told tales.

THE PAPER REVOLUTIONARIES: THE RISE OF THE UNDERGROUND PRESS. By Laurence Leamer. Simon and Schuster. \$2.95, paperbound.

■ Writing with combined sympathy and detachment, Laurence Leamer captures what otherwise might have proved ephemeral—the turbulent, often gaudy story of the underground press of the 1960s and 1970s. He traces the dominant and conflicting themes of cultural libertarianism and hyper-politicization through what he describes as two generations of underground papers. Now he finds the underground, or "Movement" press, at a plateau with the conflict unresolved: will it take the road of Charles Reich or Karl Marx, or both? He essays no firm predictions himself because the only firm characteristic of the underground has been its "total lack of predictability."

Mass-media journalists can benefit from reading in particular the chapters on "The Cosmetic Bohemians" and on "The Mass Media and the Underground Press." Research for the book was supported by the Twentieth Century Fund.

JAMES BOYLAN

News pegs
we can do
without

ADVANCE/ WASHINGTON-- TROPICAL STORM AGNES, WHICH SET ALL-TIME RECORDS FOR FLOOD DAMAGE AND CAUSED SIX STATES TO BE DECLARED DISASTER AREAS, ALSO ENABLED THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO CREATE THE EXCEPTIONAL RECORD OF MEETING THE HOUSING NEEDS OF 31,218 FLOOD VICTIM FAMILIES IN JUST 90 DAYS.

THE PREVIOUS RECORD ESTABLISHED BY THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE WAKE OF 1969'S HURRICANE CELIA WAS THE PROVIDING OF TEMPORARY HOUSING FOR 5,069 FAMILIES IN FOUR MONTHS.

"THERE HAS NEVER BEEN THIS MUCH TEMPORARY HOUSING PROVIDED, IN

—News release,
U.S. Dept. of
Housing and
Urban Development
(HUD), Oct. 1.

Unfinished business

Four-ring circus?

TO THE REVIEW:

Your report entitled "Four-Ring Circus" [PASSING COMMENT, Sept./Oct.] is unfortunately very misleading about *Saturday Review's* extensive market-testing program while overlooking what is possibly the boldest and most innovative publishing strategy in the country.

Contrary to your report, all the price offers in our new marketing promotion have been cleared with the appropriate authorities in Washington. This was obviously essential to the prudent and orderly conduct of our affairs.

SR's testing program is probably the largest and most complex such program organized by any publishing company in recent years, although all publishers are routinely engaged in price and copy-testing all the time. The real news, however, that I commend to your attention is that *Saturday Review* has embarked on an expanded and diversified editorial and publishing program, to which we have committed millions of dollars, that we believe truly represents a turning point in today's magazine industry.

We are offering our readers a greater choice of editorial fare—we have increased our editorial budget alone by more than \$4 million a year—and are presenting this fare in a more comprehensive, structured, and useful form. In return, we are frankly asking the readers to pay more for the magazines and we are deliberately refraining from trying to off-load any of our increased costs on our advertisers. We have in fact reduced some of our advertising rates.

We believe, and we are testing our belief in the marketplace where it counts, that readers will pay a fair price for a solid editorial product, and that the era of giving magazines away in order to develop

an audience/market to sell advertisers has ended. This change, if we are successful, will be, we also believe, in the best interests of readers, advertisers, and magazines and the growing knowledge society they serve.

WILLIAM D. PATTERSON
Vice President and
Publishing Director
Saturday Review
New York City

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The "testing program" of which Mr. Patterson speaks amounted to a flood of promotion pieces nationally. In many instances, recipients were invited to subscribe at a "half-price" rate that was not half price when measured against masthead prices then in effect. The Price Commission reports it has no record of a request from "SR" for a 100 per cent price increase—and in fact it requires none for enterprises of "SR's" size. The Federal Trade Commission also reports no "clearance" of "SR" promotion activities and says it regards the magazine as outside its normal purview. Its Information Office writes:*

"It may be appropriate to point out that FTC must use its extremely limited resources of manpower and funds in such a way as to ensure that the greatest possible number of people will benefit from its actions. Consequently, the Commission would not be so likely to initiate action on account of the practices you mention against a magazine with a comparatively small, sophisticated readership as it would against a magazine of general interest, with a large circulation which cuts across many strata of education, income, and interest."

Indiana maligned?

TO THE REVIEW:

Concerning the piece headed "Indiana Papers, Please Copy" [PASSING COMMENT, Sept./Oct.]: The series of articles carried by the Dayton, O., *Journal Herald* about the "Indiana Bankruptcy Ring" consisted largely of a rewrite of stories on bankruptcy cases which appeared

in the *Indianapolis Star*.

Your report that the Ohio newspaper entered the field "when the local press was reluctant to do the job" is typical of your policy to use anything at hand to denigrate newspapers which do not follow the liberal line. The hope of the Ohio newspaper's series apparently was to fool the Pulitzer Prize committee members into believing that it had engaged in original research and had uncovered a bankruptcy scandal. The *Indianapolis Star's* stories revealed some eyebrow-raising practices by a few attorneys but did not uncover any clear violation of law. The courts agreed.

You took the bait the Ohio newspaper dangled in its last gasp attempt to win a prize. It never occurred to you, apparently, to check on the truth and veracity of the Ohio newspaper's account of its "investigative work" in Indianapolis.

ROBERT P. EARLY
Managing Editor
Indianapolis Star

TO THE REVIEW:

I resent your inclusion of the *Evansville Courier*, by implication at least, in a condemnation of Indiana newspapers for ignoring the "bankruptcy ring" series of the Dayton, O., *Journal Herald*. In our case the charge that the series was ignored is not true.

The *Review* stated that copies of the series were sent in advance of publication to three dailies, in South Bend, Kokomo, and Evansville, and to the Associated Press. And it added: "Not one of the three dailies used the series, nor, the *Journal Herald* found, did other papers—despite a detailed summary transmitted on the AP regional wire each day."

There are two dailies in Evansville. We printed the majority of the AP stories. As for being sent a copy of the series, we did not receive one—until a *Courier* political reporter requested it sometime after the series had been concluded.

I congratulate the *Journal Herald* and its reporters for the series. At the same time I do not feel we in

Evansville must endure the righteous wrath of the *Review*.

BILL JACKSON
Managing Editor
Evansville (Ind.) Courier

TO THE REVIEW:

This newspaper covered all aspects of the story you describe, including the unproved innuendoes, in depth, long before (by some five years) the Dayton press began digging through what by that time had become history.

We were offered the series of stories heralded in your article, but declined and instead used the daily rewritten account by AP, finding it more readable and understandable.

FRED C. ODIET
Reporter
Kokomo (Ind.) Tribune

EDITOR'S NOTE: The "Journal Herald" stories were far more documented and detailed than were the "Star" or AP items referred to. Nonetheless, it was erroneous of "CJR" to use the term "silence" in describing Indiana coverage and we are happy to correct the record.

Censorship at 'Stripes'?

TO THE REVIEW:

Although Michael Berger's article on *Pacific Stars & Stripes* [July/Aug.] may have been lacking in documentation and suffered as a result, Don W. McKinnon's defense of *Stars & Stripes* [UNFINISHED BUSINESS, Sept./Oct.] was ridiculous.

I do not know what possessed Mr. McKinnon to fall back on half-truths and lies. I do know that in my eighteen months in Tokyo during 1970 and 1971 as a copy editor and city-desk swing slotman, I was personally witness to and a victim of numerous blatant and usually successful attempts to censor articles, and in some cases, photographs.

And contrary to what McKinnon says about there not being censorship of books sold through *Stars & Stripes* bookstores, I on two occasions had access to correspondence to and from front-office military personnel at *Stars & Stripes* concerning withdrawing books from sale which

dealt unfavorably with U.S. military involvement in Vietnam and radical politics in the United States. The books were subsequently removed from *Stars & Stripes* bookstores.

The tragedy of *Pacific Stars & Stripes* is that, censorship notwithstanding, it is often an excellent newspaper. Were it not for the heavy-handed censorship Mike Berger has depicted, it would be an excellent newspaper all of the time—the kind of newspaper GIs in Vietnam and the Pacific deserve.

SHAUN D. MULLEN
Wilmington (Del.) Morning News

TO THE REVIEW:

It appears that a reader has only to observe the styles of Berger and McKinnon to conclusively decide who is the journalist. Berger is a competent, professional, investigative reporter. In my opinion, he wrapped up a very difficult subject in a few words. McKinnon, on the other hand, rambled in his response and appears to be speaking for the current management of *Stars & Stripes*. During my tenure as editor-in-chief of *Stripes*, I did move McKinnon from the copydesk and editorial department to Personnel—at no raise in salary.

McKinnon is wrong when he attempts to define the mission of *Stars & Stripes*. *Stripes* is authorized by the Defense Department, as a part of its information program, to ensure that all members of the military, both uniformed and civilian employees, are provided the same news that they would have received had they not been assigned to overseas duty. Defense Department employees are sent to Vietnam, Thailand, and other countries in East Asia, to serve their country. They are assigned a short tour of duty—they are citizens, entitled to both sides of controversial issues.

I agree that *Stripes* is a paper designed for the military, but not to the extent that we would ignore a news story or fail to print an article that might be, unfortunately, unfavorable to the Defense Department. To do this, in my opinion, would be censorship, and during my tenure wouldn't have been tolerated.

For allowing such stories to be

printed, I was criticized by some general officers—Gens. Kendall, Yarbrough, Hay, Goshorn, and others too numerous to mention. If Sen. Fulbright made a comment in the U.S. criticizing the Vietnam War or criticism of Secretary of State Rusk and that was the lead story of the day, it would have appeared headlined on page 1.

I object to McKinnon's statement that I didn't "particularly like the military." I will admit that I didn't respect some of the senior officers with whom I had to deal whose primary motivation was personal ambition covered in the cloth of patriotism and loyalty. I am confident that the top leaders of our military establishment believe exactly as I do and would not condone a censored newspaper.

PETER C. SWEERS, JR.
Santa Monica, Calif.

Reporting on prisons

TO THE REVIEW:

William J. vanden Heuvel's article "The Press and the Prisons" [May/June] is an exact analysis of the reason for the lack of progressive reforms in our prison system.

Recently our Inmate Representative Committee filed suit in federal court to allow the news media to "see" and report the problems we are shouting about. Commissioner Robert L. Clifford almost immediately issued an "official release" allowing the press to interview inmates who had invited them. We wrote numerous newspapers, radio/TV stations, but in over a month received no reply.

Does it really take "Atticas" to attract the media, or has the "blood and guts" reporter vanished? The article really "told it like it is" and I hope that now there might be some progress in the right direction.

I'd like to further add that our invitation to any member of the news media is still standing. Let's see if someone has heart enough to tackle an unpopular but just cause.

ANTHONY J. LaPORTE
Secretary, Inmate Council
State Prison, Trenton, N.J.

REPORT ON REPORTS

Summaries and reviews of current literature on the media

"Is It True What They Say About the New York Times?" by John C. Ottinger and Patrick D. Maines, *National Review*, Sept. 15, 1972; "The Making of the New York Times Book Review," by Thomas Weyr, *Publishers Weekly*, July 31, 1972; "The Zeusse Tapes," (More), July, 1972.

Discussing five case histories, an advertising executive and the *Review's* assistant publisher conclude that "the *Times*' news performance in terms of balance between Right and Left may not be flawless, but it must be rated very high"; a trade weekly offers an insightful look into the operation of the *Times* Sunday book review section; and the New York journalism review sets forth charges, based on an experience of Consumers' Alliance, that the *Times* "protects retail advertisers."

"Mirrors on the Media," by Lewis W. Wolfson, *Potomac/the Washington Post*, Aug. 20, 27, 1972.

Trenchant comments by fifty-seven "top political correspondents, columnists, and commentators" who were interviewed by graduate students at American University, under the direction of associate professor Wolfson.

"Communication," *Scientific American*, September, 1972.

Yale law professor Thomas I. Emerson, scientist Peter C. Goldmark, and others, writing in a special issue, examine social and scientific aspects of present and future communication.

"Will Bill Paley Ever Let Go?" by Edwin Diamond, *New York*, Aug. 14, 1972.

A perceptive look at CBS chairman William S. Paley by a *New York* contributing editor.

"The Herald Traveler's Costly Lunch," by Louis M. Kohlmeier, *Wall Street Journal*, July 17, 1972.

An informed analysis by a member of the *Journal's* Washington bureau of the FCC role in the death of the Boston *Herald Traveler*.

"Law and the Press in Texas: A Handbook for News-men," by David McHam, 1972.

A useful, if in parts sketchy, guide by a Baylor University professor of journalism.

"The Anderson Strategy: 'We Hit You—Pow! Then You Issue a Denial, and—BAM!—We Really Let You Have It,'" by Susan Sheehan, *New York Times Magazine*, Aug. 13, 1972; "Checking Out Dita Beard's Memo," by Brit Hume, *Harper's*, August, 1972.

An evenhanded but penetrating analysis of columnist Jack Anderson by a *New Yorker* staff writer; an Anderson staff member's engrossing diary of his handling of the ITT story.

"Editorials on Race, 1954-1968," by Thomas J. Kelly, *Chicago Journalism Review*, August, 1972.

A perceptive but critical survey, by a professor of urban history at Governors State University, of attitudes expressed between 1954 and 1968 in Chicago newspaper editorials.

"News and the New Bigotry," by John De Mott, *Nieman Reports*, June, 1972.

A Northern Illinois University associate professor of journalism convincingly argues that newspapermen may abet a new bigotry based on age "by making 'generation gap' a common pat answer to questions involving the origin of social conflict."

"Clarence Jones and the New York Amsterdam News," *Columbia College Today*, Spring, 1972; "Being Black, Covering Black," by George Lane, *The Unsatisfied Man*, August, 1972.

Publisher Jones of the *Amsterdam News* is interestingly profiled; rewards and penalties of being a "minority journalist" are candidly discussed by a *Denver Post* staff writer.

"Olivetti Girls Aren't Forever," by Helen Manasian, *Broadcasting*, Aug. 7, 1972.

An assistant editor's fascinating and detailed report about the status of women in broadcasting.

"Chicano Media Challenge: Basta Ya!" by Jeanni Atkins, *Freedom of Information Center Publication No. 282*, School of Journalism, University of Missouri, May, 1972.

A first-rate overview, by a Center administrative assistant, of recent increasingly successful challenges to U.S. media by Chicano groups.

"See No Evil, Hear No Evil . . . Ha!" by Herman Weiskopf, *Sports Illustrated*, Sept. 4, 1972; "The Real Warner Wolf," by Jack Mann, *Washingtonian*, September, 1972.

SI writer Weiskopf discusses in engaging detail the iconoclastic Boston radio talk show *Sports Huddle*; veteran sportswriter Mann profiles Washington, D.C., sportscaster Wolf.

DANIEL J. LEAB

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New York Daily News,
Sept. 1.

Half abortions to non-residents

Toronto Star, July 27.

Iceland Romance Ends In Wedding Tomorrow

Woonsocket, R.I., Call.

Woman Baptist Minister Defrocked, Page 16

Western Recorder, Aug. 5



BENGAZI, LIBYA. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat (L) and Libyan strongman Col. Moammar Khadaffi yesterday after they announced an agreement to join the two Arab nations in complete union as soon as possible. The merger will create the biggest—and one of the richest nations—in the Middle East. UPI

Marion, Ill.,
Daily Republican, Aug. 3.

(UPDATED)—THE TROPICAL STORM HAS NOW BEEN DECLARED A TROPICAL STORM. IT WAS NEAR LATITUDE 20-POINT-9 NORTH LATITUDE, 80-POINT-9 WEST AT 11:00 PM. IT IS NOW A TROPICAL STORM.

AP, June 16.

(BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA)—THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS OF GEORGIA AA A A A AA AAAAAAAAAA AA AAAA AA AAAAAAAAAA A AA A- AAAAAA - AAAAAA A AAAA AAAA AA AA A A A - AAAAAA A AA AA AAAA AA AAA A AAAAA A AA AA A AAAAAA AAAA AAAA A A AAAAAA- A AAAA A AAAAAAAA AA AAAA AA A AAAA WILL TAA A OUT, BUT ONE SOURCE SA THEY WILL TALK SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN POLITICS.

AP, Aug. 3.

dark days of Charles Dickens' industrial England and the dreaded debators' jail."

New York Daily News,
Aug. 30.

And during the current fiscal year, Kinney plans to increase the number of uninformed sergeants by 14, making a total of 42

Sacramento Bee,
Sept. 3.

6:30 (3) Sunday Prime Movie
10 20 30 NBC Nightly
News
"The Lavender Hill Mob."

Hartford, Conn.,
Courant, Aug. 17.

Creations With Sticks And Stuffing

CHESAPEAKE—Oak Grove United Methodist Church was the setting Saturday for the marriage of Miss Corinne Leigh Marquart and Ronald Edward Shibley.

The bride, given in marriage

Norfolk, Va.,
Virginian-Pilot, Aug. 11.



AMERICAN NATIONAL BANK GOING DANISH

Taking a break at work today on the east wall of American National Bank is Solving one Danish tradition, national vice president of the bank, left, and his father, president of the Solving Business Assn. On the wall is a Danish tradition, left, and another, Johannes Jensen. The bank building will complete a Danish tradition, left, and another, Johannes Jensen. The bank building will complete a Danish tradition, left, and another, Johannes Jensen.

Santa Ynez Valley News,
Solvang, Calif., June 15.

7:00
Political (4): Daniel J. Evans for Governor. Paid political broadcast. (Local preemption of To Tell the Truth.)

Seattle Times,
Sept. 12.

Second reading

"The mirror we hold up ...ought to be less distorted"

■ Very often indeed, participants in events will read about it in the paper and say: "That's not the way it was at all." This builds up mistrust. Part of the trouble lies in our standard definition of news. Generally speaking, news is novelty, sensation, crime, passion, disaster, and the more the better. Nobody denies that such elements find ready access into the human mind: they are interesting, and the newspaper must be interesting or perish.

But that kind of news is not the whole of life. The absence of crime in a nearby town may sometimes be more important, hence more worthy to be communicated to readers, than to banner headlines of a gruesome murder halfway around the world. It is difficult to make important news interesting. It takes more professional skill. But it ought to be done much more widely than ever before. The mirror we hold up to life ought to be less distorted. The significance of news to people's lives—significance for good as well as for evil—ought to be a part of the definition of news.

New definitions of news will lead us into new and important areas of human life. We should not merely continue to staff beats at police stations and city halls, and of course alert newspapers are not doing so. There has been a tremendous growth of investigative reporting in recent years, often through teams. These have moved into many areas of life which need exploring, but there is a great deal more to do.

News in the past has been event-oriented. It is getting to be more and more situation-oriented. We have been the slave of the event, the servant of time alone, and we have wasted a lot of time just waiting around for things to happen. Investigative reporting about situations is much more rewarding, gets much deeper into significance and validity than merely covering an event. Nothing can more effectively restore the credibility of a newspaper in a community than the uncovering of some situation which badly needs exposure.

**—Erwin D. Canham,
Editor in Chief,
Christian Science Monitor,
to Lovejoy Convocation,
Colby College, May 5, 1972.**

